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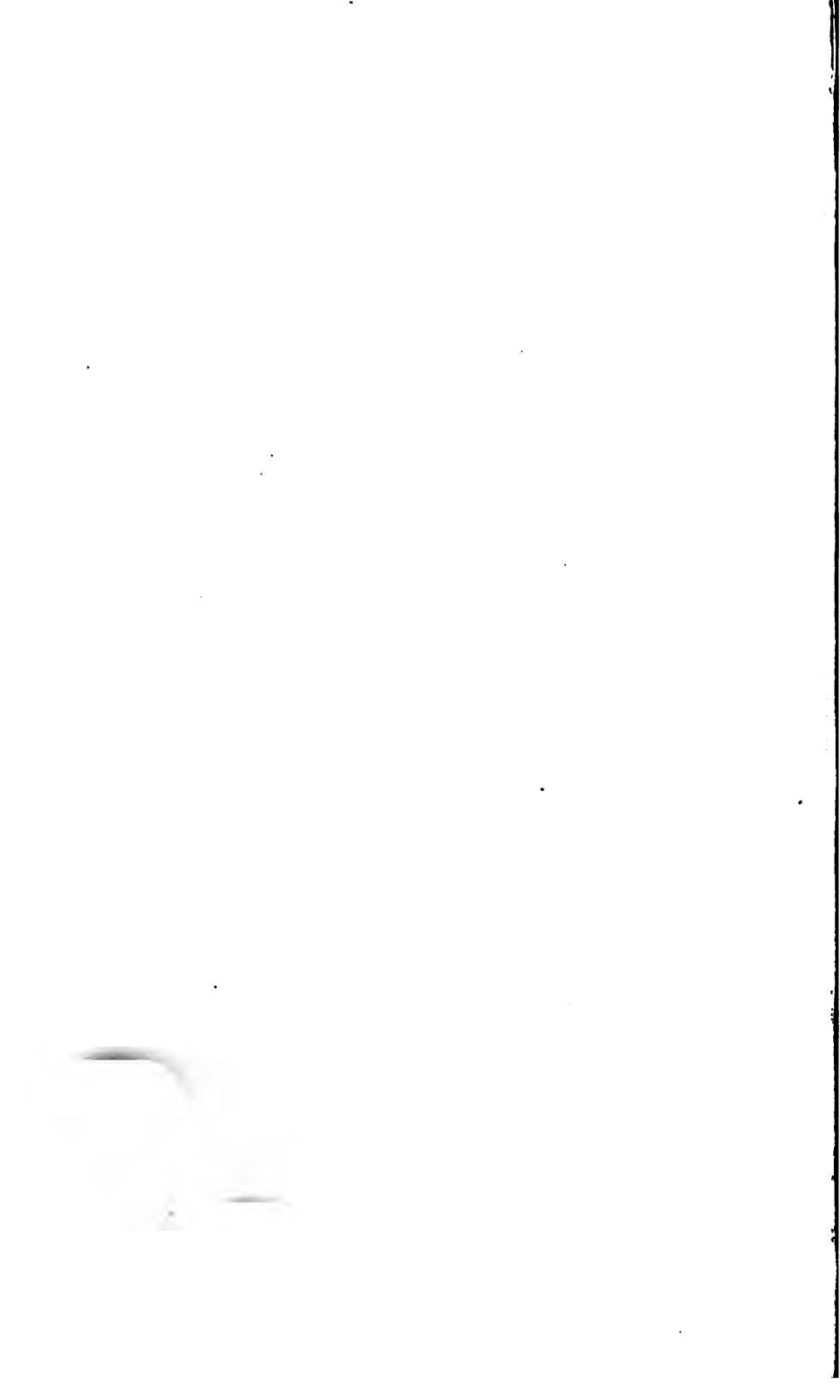
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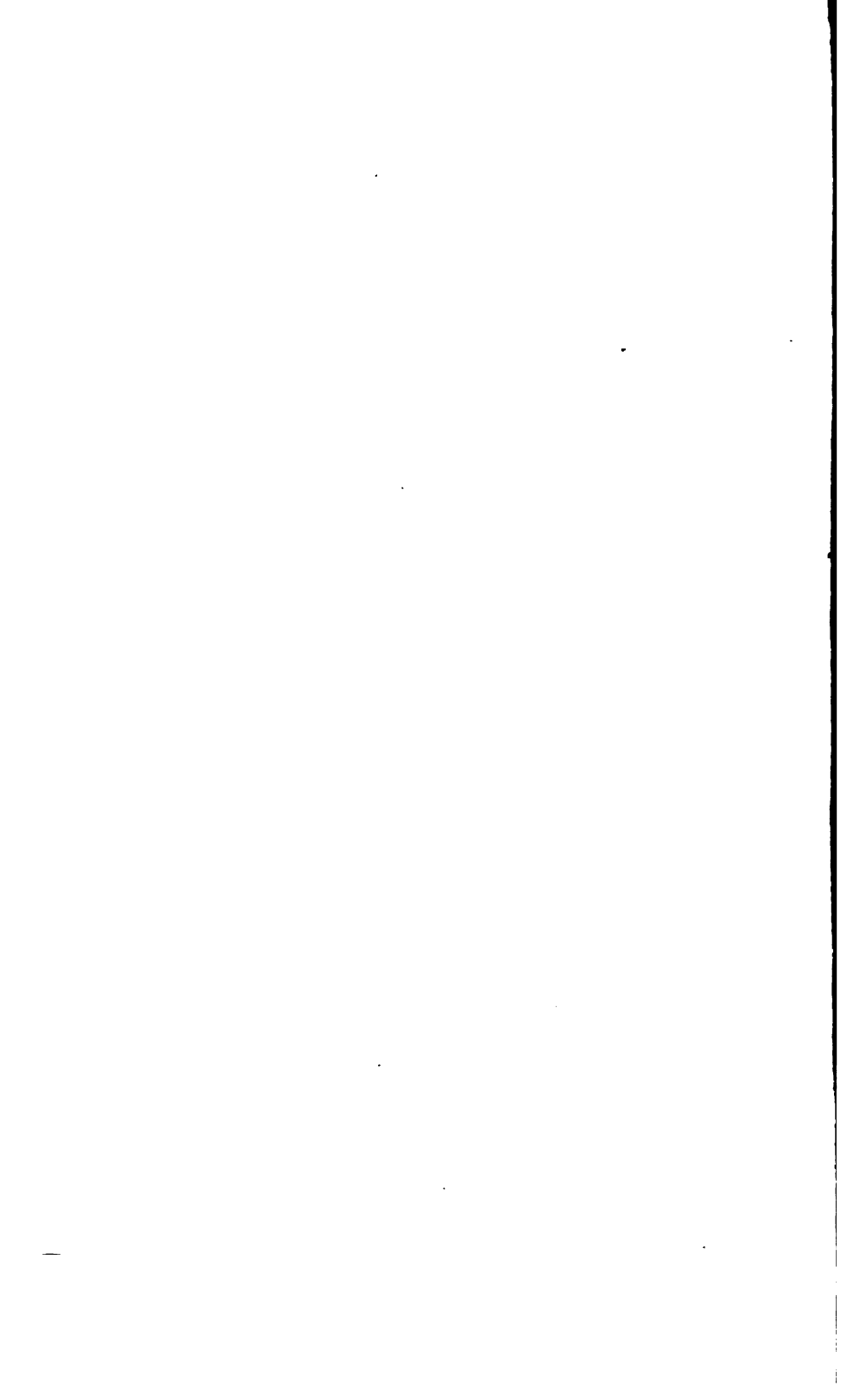
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THE HISTORY
OF
IRISH PERIODICAL LITERATURE,

FROM THE END OF THE 17TH TO THE MIDDLE OF THE
19TH CENTURY,

ITS ORIGIN, PROGRESS, AND RESULTS;

WITH NOTICES OF REMARKABLE PERSONS CONNECTED WITH THE PRESS
IN IRELAND DURING THE PAST TWO CENTURIES.

BY

RICHARD ROBERT MADDEN, M.R.I.A.,

Author of "Life and Correspondence of Lady Blessington," "Life and Martyrdom of
Savonarola," "Shrines and Sepulchres of the Old and New World," "Galileo
and the Inquisition," "Travels in the East," "Phantasms,
or Illusions and Fanaticisms," &c.

VOL. I.

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1867.

TO VINU
AIRBORNE

TO

The Right Hon. W. E. Gladstone, M.P.,

IN TOKEN OF RESPECT LONG ENTERTAINED

FOR HIS SOLID WORTH AND SIGNAL TALENTS,

AND FOR THE EARNEST DISPOSITION UNIFORMLY MANIFESTED BY HIM

TO PROMOTE THE INTERESTS OF IRELAND,

This Work,

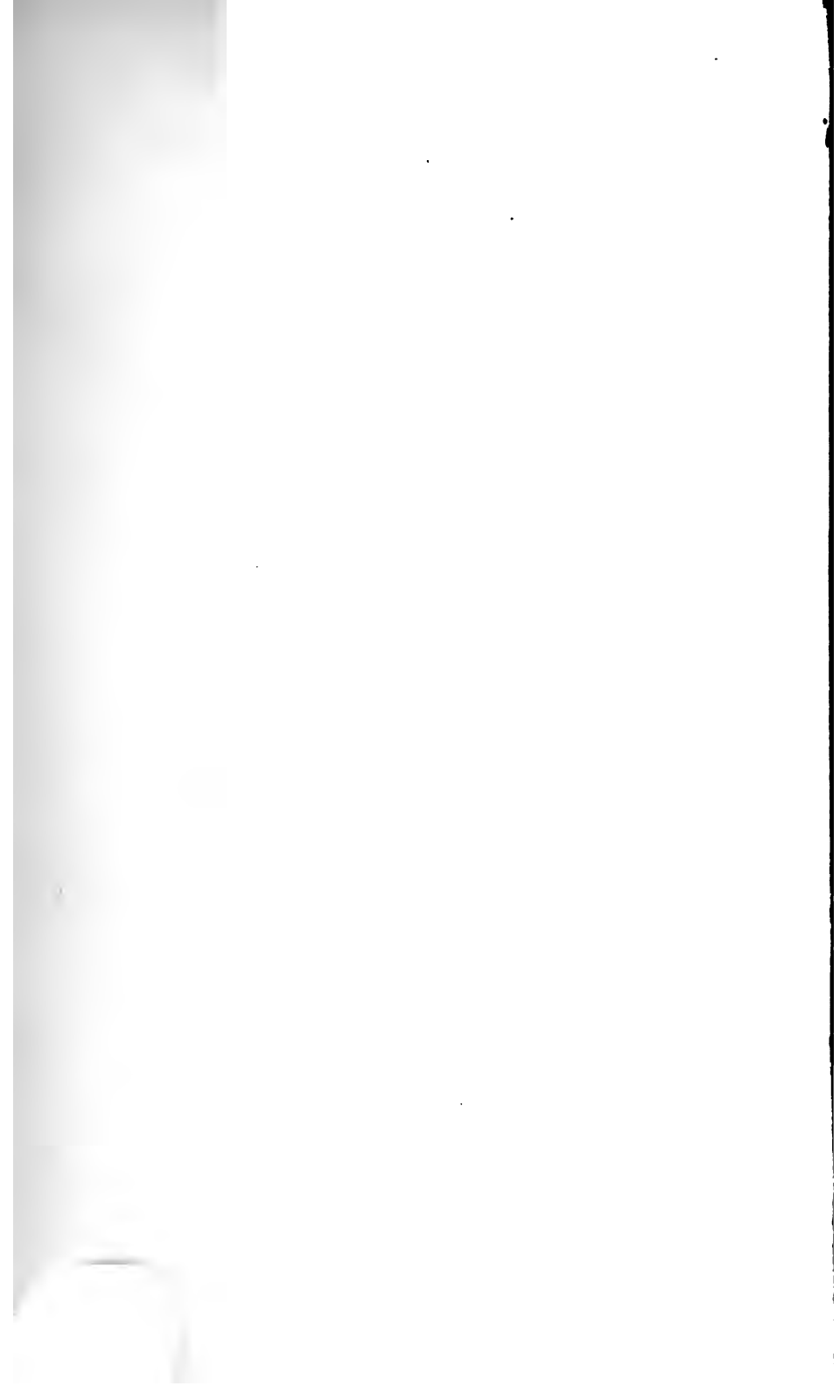
WHICH TREATS OF THEM EXTENSIVELY,

IS INSCRIBED BY

THE AUTHOR.

MARCH, 1847.

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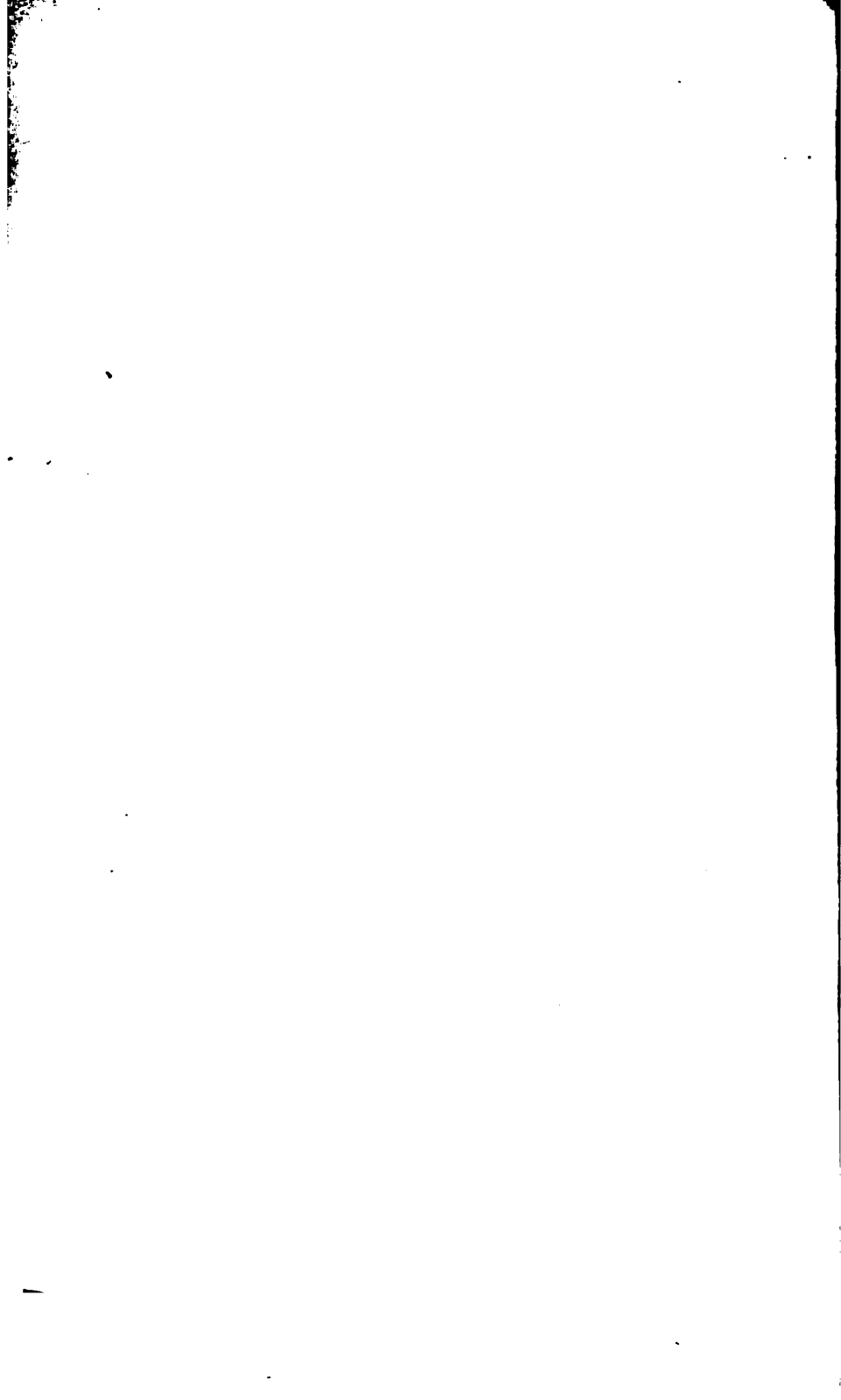
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PREFACE.

THIS History of Irish Periodical Literature, the result of arduous labour and research for the past five years, is not a mere catalogue of names, dates, and compendious characteristics of newspapers and magazines, gleaned from published lists, or memoranda furnished by literary men, but an original and extensive Treatise, illustrative, as it professes to be, of the origin, scope, progress, and design of newspapers, magazines, and periodical miscellanies of all kinds, worthy of notice, that have been published in Ireland from the latter part of the seventeenth to the middle of the nineteenth century.

The importance of such a work, executed with due care, diligence, truthfulness, and impartiality, must be obvious to all, by whom reliable knowledge is desired, of important occurrences, and controversies on subjects of great pith and moment that have engaged public attention in Ireland during a period of nearly two centuries.

It abounds with biographical notices of Irish periodical originators, contributors, and editors, remarkable for their position, influence, ability, or eccentricity, of past or recent times.

No work of this kind has heretofore been published in Ireland. It could only have been attempted with any prospect of success, and satisfactorily executed, by one who was prepared to make great sacrifices of time, labour, and money, for the acquisition of the materials essentially requisite for the accomplishment of such a task.

It could only be done effectually, and completed, even in the period above referred to, by one, who had not only a very extensive library of his own at command, but moreover, an extensive knowledge of Irish history, previously acquired in the pursuit of information bearing on analogous subjects of grave interest, at some of the most stirring periods of Irish history.

The character of this work may be set forth in a few words; it has been written, not for the sake of serving any purpose, political, or polemical, or pecuniary, but of promoting the interests of truth, and its objects in relation to a very important and long-neglected portion of Irish literature.

Of "Dr. Daniel Dove, of Doncaster," Robert Southey writes: "Happily for Daniel, he lived before the age of Magazines, Reviews, Cyclopædias, 'Elegant Extracts,' and Literary Newspapers, so that he gathered for himself the first fruit of knowledge instead of receiving it from the dirty fingers of a retail vendor. His books were few in number, but were all weighty, either in matter or size."

We who live in an age of periodical literature of all kinds, unhappily for our ease of mind, must burden our memories with a vast deal of matter which it may be as well to methodize. Therefore, "here I have my several rolls and files of news, by the alphabet, and all set up under their heads." *

For the recreation of mind and occupation of leisure in moments of lassitude or listlessness of wearied thought, long or deeply engaged in the turmoil of life and the pursuits of professional, official, or commercial avocations, with all their attendant cares and anxieties, there is no kind of

* Ben Jonson's "Staple of News."

literary recreation more peculiarly suitable than that of old newspaper lore. By it we are, for the time being, in a new condition of existence. We, of the present, are thrown back into the past. We are made to live over again our youth, abounding in memories of events that occurred in our early days, or in records of things appertaining to them, that were then new and wonderful to us. Old magazine and newspaper reading puts us in the condition of prescient beings, capable of bringing to the perusal of those periodicals of the past, all the knowledge and experience that have been gained up to the present time. We find in those periodicals abundance of evidence that human passions never change; that all things else vary essentially, or undergo modifications of some sort or another, but that they remain unaltered and unalterable; that they are now the same they were at the earliest period of authentic history, and that in them all our politics, polemics, wars and public contentions live, move, and have their being. It is impossible to read old magazines and newspapers without perceiving that the same passions agitate society and prevail in all its sections that had dominion in them many a long year ago.

The same reports of impending evils, dearths, epidemic diseases, commercial panics, murders, robberies, ministerial changes, dangers of the church, the empire, the altar, and the throne, and especially danger of those interests which are in any way connected with our own; the same daily intelligence that excited hopes or fears, and which were formerly conveyed in "Mercuries," "Courants," "Flying Posts," "Pacquets of Newes," and "Registers," or "Memoires of the Affairs of Europe, and Advices from Abroad," now reach us in the "Times," "Herald," "Post," and all the leading journals of the British Empire. The same

alarms are now sounded in the press, and shrieked on platforms, that stunned the ears of our forefathers a couple of centuries ago. And after a short time the same conclusions are generally arrived at now that were come to by thinking people in former times with respect to the credibility of those diurnal rumours ; that the majority of them were groundless, or obvious exaggerations of truth, or manifest perversions of it.

Each recurring year is ushered in with references in our periodicals to its vast importance compared with its predecessor. At the beginning of each century we are always reminded that we are entering on an epoch pregnant with events of greater pith and moment, and more serious consequences to our nation, than those of any former age.

The same pride in our extended dominion, resources, power and prosperity ; the same glorification of the English race, religion, character, and institutions, furnish themes for our newspaper press and monthly reviews and magazines, that supplied them in former times with formulas of the same *ad captandum* sort of subjects, for leading articles. A volume of the most interesting and venerable of all British periodicals, "The Gentleman's Magazine," opened at random, the sixty-ninth volume, for the year 1799, affords an illustration of this remark. Worthy Sylvanus Urban, Gent., informs his readers in the Preface, to this volume "That for sixty-nine years this periodical has been devoted to the interests of the laws and religion of the country, its literature, morality," &c.

"We are about," says Sylvanus Urban, "to enter on the concluding year of a most eventful century ; and who can foresee what it will produce ? A war which has been carried on by a magnanimous country like ours, *pro aris et focis*, though productive of the most glorious trophies to the British

name, has not yet produced all the desired effects. Arbitress of the fate of Europe, this nation of ours has braved the storm with matchless intrepidity, and given an effectual check to the ravages of an implacable and destructive foe in every quarter of the globe. May the tutelary angel continue to protect our fleets and armies against this demon of discord, till a due sense of their enormities shall induce the ferocious Republicans to consult their own happiness, and that of the whole human race, by a return to social order, to harmony and peace. Before the expiration of another year, it is more than probable that the desirable event of a union with the sister kingdom may take place—an event which presents the fairest prospects of permanent security to the whole empire. Commixing in a friendly phalanx, what foreign power can interrupt our harmony, what mercantile associations can rival our commerce?"

This excellent formula, with a few slight verbal changes to adapt it to some new circumstances or modification of them, though concocted sixty-seven years ago, would be quite suitable for any similar prefatory article for a publication of the present day. How convenient to a newspaper editor of our times, having at hand for any emergency a stock of phrases like the following:—"A most eventful century," "Who can foresee what it will produce?" "A war carried on by a magnanimous country like ours—for our hearths and altars," "The most glorious trophies to the British name," "This nation of ours," "Arbitress of the fate of Europe," "The ravages of the implacable and destructive foe in every quarter of the globe." And then that fine passage with the piety breaking out through the politics in the prayer, "May the tutelary angel continue to protect our fleets and armies against the demon of discord," &c. !

And the crowning excellence of exultation in the future blessings of the union in the paragraph, "The desirable event of a union with the sister kingdom," presenting "The fairest prospect of permanent security to the whole empire." And then that admirable concluding sentence, descriptive of our Millenium, with all its harmonies and harbingers of peace and concord—the lying down of the British Lion and the Irish Lamb together in *united* blessedness.

"Commixing (as they shall then do) in a friendly phalanx," and in uninterrupted happiness!

A little dash of poetry and piety in all political predictions with regard to Ireland, and to that one sovereign remedy of a union, for all Ireland's inward hurts and outward bruises, are indulged in quite as freely in some of the English newspapers of our time, as they were in the pages of Sylvanus Urban's periodical sixty-seven years ago.

If there be any kind of reading more calculated than another, with one exception, to make men think soberly, philosophically, and justly of the affairs of this world, and tolerantly, charitably, and kindly of their fellow men, it is that of the periodicals of past time. By them we are made to comprehend fully the meaning of those words of Bossuet, which are the result of another kind of knowledge of the transitory nature of all the things of this life on which our hearts are set "L'homme marche vers le tombeau traînant apres lui la chaine de ses esperances trompées."

But although there is something in this periodical literature of the past to make thoughtful people grave, there is something in it indescribably soothing and entertaining. The tendency of it assuredly is to humanize people, if I may use that word, in contradistinction to civilize,—a word to which a conventional signification has been given in great

mercantile countries, that is more expressive of external influences on prosperity and position in society, and of results of material circumstances, than of those effects on the mind and affections which are made by spiritual agencies, and particularly by those of sound literature, calculated to enlarge and elevate men's minds.

With respect to magazine periodical literature we may observe it reflects not a little credit on the class of enlightened persons of literary tastes and attainments of this country, not living by the exercise of their literary talents, but deriving more than sufficient means for subsistence from professional or mercantile avocations, that notwithstanding all the discouragement that has been occasioned by the repeated failures of literary periodicals in Ireland, gentlemen are to be found undeterred by the number of such failures, ready to come forward and make very considerable outlays of capital, and to undertake large liabilities for the establishment of new periodicals, that seem to be urgently required, calculated to do good, and deserving of success.

Persons who enter on such projects and undertake such responsibilities are found fault with by those who have no sympathies with their objects, and no desire to promote them. For my part I do not think there is any country in Europe in which it is more desirable to foster and encourage, to patronize and protect, literary tastes and intellectual recreations than Ireland, unhappily circumstanced as that country is, the great bulk of the food and the property of the land being transmitted to another—the former consumed, and the latter spent in a foreign land; without a resident nobility and gentry, the natural patrons in every independent country of literature, art, and science. It is to supply the want of such patronage that such men as William E. Hudson, Thomas Kennedy, Dr. Drennan, &c.,

came forward from time to time, and devoted their valuable time and talents, as well as their means to the establishment of literary periodicals, either to foster literary tastes or to encourage and give a direction to national aspirations.

If there be any truth in the observation, that great undertakings are laudable even when they are beyond the strength of those who undertake them, it may be inferred that a literary project, which is practicable as well as useful, and the want of which is a calamity to the community, is well deserving of encouragement.

The question of its success is not affected injuriously by the tardy suggestion of its advantages, for if they have been long overlooked, it may be, it is because the tendency is natural to under-rate the importance of familiar facts, and the benefits to be expected from projects that have been allowed too long to remain in abeyance have ceased to be vividly remembered by people who have every day grave wrongs and difficulties more or less grievous to contend with.

The establishment of a literary periodical in Dublin, Cork, Limerick, Belfast, Waterford, Kilkenny, or Galway on sound principles, tolerant, talented, instructive and entertaining, is a project calculated to benefit the inhabitants, not only of the city or town where it has been set up, but those of the vicinity, of all classes. The aim and object of a well conducted magazine is to afford considerable numbers of an intelligent community facilities for access to literary and scientific information on various subjects, which they might not hitherto have enjoyed.

It would be needless to enumerate the advantages which good, sound, wholesome literary recreation and the acquisition of instructive information are calculated to produce in every circle, whether metropolitan or provincial. Their

direct influence is to polish and refine men's tastes, to improve the understanding, to sharpen intellect, to give additional power to common sense, to elevate aims, views, and ideas, in a few words, to enlarge men's minds. Their indirect influence is to purify, ennoble, and refine men's feelings; to lift their desires above sensual pleasures, to dignify their natures, to civilise and to humanise; and through the agency of that improvement, to turn politeness and amiability to the account of a reformation that extends, not only to the mind and manners, but to the heart.

The advantages of a good literary periodical are not less numerous and signal, than the mischiefs which abound in large communities where no literary tastes are ministered to, or developed and directed.

We are more than sufficiently acquainted in Ireland with the results of leisure without rational recreation, without literary employment and enjoyment of mind, without books, without that knowledge of nature which is revealed to us in God's works, but which we must be taught by books adequately to appreciate and admire.

The community of a town that borders on agricultural districts may be supposed to be deeply interested in all that concerns the cultivation of the soil. They may devote abundant time and labour to their pursuit, and yet bestow a small portion of each on the cultivation of their minds.

The pleasures of country life, of hunting, shooting, coursing, cricketing, &c., afford recreation, the advantages and agreements of which are for the body; but literary pursuits and pastimes are those which tend to the cultivation of the mind. And even when they are pursued in a desultory way, they are still the best mental entertainments that can be sought. The taste for them may remain unde-

veloped, or be dormant for a long time, but it can be created or revived by periodical literature, by means which involve not a great deal of time, trouble, or expense.

The "strong, sound, round-about common sense" which Locke extols, the middle classes of society lay claim to pre-eminently, and they ought not to need much argument to convince them of the truth of that fact, that Seneca has expressed in a few emphatic words, "Leisure without books is the sepulture of the living soul." There is no kind of literature more at the command of those classes than that which periodicals impart.

It is in vain for men in the ordinary circumstances of any industrial pursuit that does not require the whole of their time, from morning till night, to be devoted to it, to pretend that no such leisure exists for them, and that those ordinary duties of their avocation preclude all efforts to improve their understanding, and to cultivate a taste for literary pursuits to some extent.

Gentlemen, even of the learned professions, assuredly find advantages in literary periodicals, combining the benefits of book knowledge to some extent, with facilities for acquiring an acquaintance with scientific and artistic subjects, and the application of such information to views and objects of a mechanical or mercantile nature. And even scientific men may condescend to regard with favour every legitimate effort made in a magazine to popularize their pursuits, to entwine the tendrils of literature round the trunk of science, and thus contribute at least to its adornment and the presentation of it to the general public in the way best calculated to attract attention.

To military gentlemen sojourning for lengthened periods in garrison towns or the vicinity of our cities, the advantages of periodical literature, which combines the benefits of

cheap knowledge and of intellectual recreation, cannot be valueless. The days of Ensign Northerton are gone by when it was the fashion to shoot maledictions at literature through the sides of Homer. It is not the least important object that periodical literature has to accomplish by fostering intellectual tastes, and ennobling pursuits to fit men for enlightened converse, to bring together persons who only require to become acquainted with one another in literary intercourse to appreciate the qualities of each other better than they hitherto have done, and to estimate each other's worth more justly and generously than individuals of the same community often do.

Periodical literature is eminently calculated to effect these objects, to promote the harmony of society by removing the groundless prejudices and unwarranted prepossessions of unacquainted neighbours, and diffusing more extensively the small sweet courtesies of life.

But it is not sufficient to recognize the advantages that may be expected from the establishment and support of good literary periodicals. It is necessary to determine, and even make some sacrifice to support them. There is no alchemy in mere commendations to transmute bare words of approval into adequate support of a good literary periodical. Fair Psyche, we are told by Apuleius, was the glory of her age, and many came to see her, admired her divine beauty, and gazed upon her, wondering at her perfections as on those of a picture, but none would marry her, because she had no dowry.

Emerson imagines that the intellectual interests of a people, and the interests of the class too of literary people, are objects well worthy of the care of a good government. "Society has really no graver interest than the well being of the literary class; and it is not denied that wise statesmen

are cordial in their recognition of intellectual accomplishments." It unfortunately is one of the conditions of social life in provinces and colonies of all great empires—degradation of intellect and depression and depreciation of intellectual people. There is no fact more indisputable than that. Mr. Emerson would find out that fact if he visited Ireland; he would learn in a short time there, that intellectual interests, and those of intellectual people who devoted themselves to literature, were not recognised, were not cared for, nor were they rewarded, unless the latter could be suborned, enlisted, and retained in the service of a provincial government or the faction of its adherents that happened to be in power. And then he would find the mercenary drudges of imperial rule, or of its allied press, in parting with their independence had parted with their mental manhood, had ceased to love their country; had lost all nationality of sentiment, all sense of identity with their country and their countrymen; spent their souls and their lives in sycophantic pursuits and performances, cringing to men in power, to men in Parliament, ducking to imperial opinion, and bowing to its mandates; sustaining with shameless advocacy the bad policy for their country of a bad government, or snarling in its service, at all opposition to it—in a word, deriving no inspiration, save from some official source, or some sapient members of a club, who devote their lives to the acquisition of early scraps of intelligence respecting places, preferments, divisions, party movements, and coming elections.

Those who make comparisons between the state of civilization in Ireland and that of England, from the time when newspaper periodical literature originated in the latter country upwards of a century and a half ago, seem to ignore that Ireland was ruled at that period by a system

of provincial government for a small section of English settlers in that country, that afforded no protection for the lives, property, or religion of the Irish inhabitants of the country. "The English Pale" Government, planted in Ireland, differed not materially from the colonial English rule of the planters in the West Indies. The aim and end of both was the same, and the result, it is hardly necessary to state, was similar in both regions. The slaves and the serfs in the West Indies and Ireland were oppressed, inhumanly treated, and the English West Indian planters, and the English Pale settlers and privileged marauders in Ireland, were brutalized by the very privileges afforded to the tyranny and rapacity of both. To expect arts or letters to find any patronage in countries so governed, would be absurd. There was no taste, field, or encouragement for intellectual pursuits. Literature of any kind had no votaries, professors, or admirers.

And it is only when we form some adequate idea of the degrading influences of the English Pale Government in Ireland, and in addition to them those arising from the legalized persecution and the policy of proscription that pervaded the entire penal code, that we can comprehend how slowly the discovery of printing made its way into Ireland; how every other country in Europe preceded it in this respect, and how long it was after periodical newspaper literature had been established in England, that it gained a precarious footing in Ireland.

It is quite impossible to understand this subject without taking a rapid glance at the results of the regime of the English Pale rule in Ireland, from its origin in 1172, and the terrorism of the penal code of a subsequent period. But such information it would be in vain to look for in the works of those authors who have dealt with the History of

Ireland, as if they had only to do with the English Pale in Ireland, nothing but its interests and achievements to treat of. That kind of Irish History has been abundantly supplied by our Lelands, Warners, Temples, and Musgraves for English readers. But unfortunately the spirit in which it is written does not belong solely to them. It is very lamentable to find it in the works of eminent modern English writers, in their references to Irish historical events, which they are content to have recorded for them by those Irish Historians who have been so true to the interests of the Pale and Protestant ascendancy in all their labours.

For evidence of this tendency, even the historical work of Hume may be referred to, wherein he states that the Irish, "from the beginning of time were buried in profound barbarism and ignorance, and continued (while the western world grew civilized) distinguished by vices alone." To write the History of Ireland for English Readers, necessitates no troublesome references to the learned Archbishop Usher or to any decision of learned men of former ages in honour of the enlightenment and eminence of the Irish nation, long before Ireland was connected with England.

Hume has dashed off a sentence which supersedes all further necessity for research in annals, chronicles, and records relating to Irish historical affairs, and subjects of enquiry.

In the "Memoirs of the Rev. Sydney Smith," by his daughter, Lady Holland (in 2 vols. 8vo., London, Longman, 1855), at page 141, vol. 1, we are told by Lady Holland—"Amongst his (her father's) manuscripts is a sketch he wrote at a later period (than his Hints for History), giving an account of English misrule of Ireland, from the earliest period of our possession up to the present day, compiled from the best existing documents, and forming so fearful a

picture that he hesitated to give it to the world when done. After his death my mother thinking the time perhaps come when it might be published without injury, referred to what she justly felt was one of the highest historical authorities of our day, and received from Mr. Macaulay the following answer."

Then is given the answer of Mr. Macaulay, which is too lengthy for citation *in extenso*.

The concluding passage, however, shall be quoted, but before doing so it may be observed that such a production on English misrule in Ireland, written by one of the most eminent periodical writers of his day, by an Englishman and a dignitary of the Protestant Church, by a man who loved his country, and who was a sincere churchman, and what was more, a sincere Christian—for such was the Revd. Sydney Smith, could not fail to be considered a great desideratum by every truth-loving man who revered good government and consequently was inimical to misrule and the concealment of its evils.

Of course one of the highest historical authorities of our day must, if he was a truth loving historian, have duly considered the importance and value of the proposed publication of that important work by his old *co-laborateur* of the "Edinburgh Review."

But Macaulay, in his disregard for all interests and obligations but those of party, banned the publication of the proposed work of his deceased friend, not that there was anything in it that was contrary to truth, justice, or humanity, but because the publication of it might be inexpedient and disadvantageous to the English government of the time being.

Let it be borne in mind that the Rev. Sydney Smith died on the 22nd of February, 1845. He had been dead two years

when his widow proposed the publication of this production of her lamented husband, of which she thought so highly. The following is the extract from a letter of Macaulay, to Mrs. Sydney Smith :—

“I am truly grateful to you for suffering me to see the sketch of Irish history above referred to, drawn up by my admirable and excellent friend When the disabilities of the Roman Catholics had been removed, and when designing men still attempted to inflame the Irish against England by repeating tales of grievances which had passed away, he (the Revd. Sydney Smith) felt that it (the proposed publication) would no longer do any good, and that it might be used by demagogues in such a way as to do positive harm. You will see from what I have said that though I think this piece honourable to his memory, I do not wish to see it published, nor do I think, that though it would raise the reputation of almost any other writer of our time, it would raise his. In truth, nothing that is not of very rare and striking merit ought now to be given to the world under his name.

“Signed

“T. B. MACAULAY.”

Lord Macaulay admits that Sydney Smith was a “great reasoner,” and that his essay on the History of English Misrule in Ireland, “would raise the reputation of any other writer,” and yet he recommends it to be squelched, because the grievances of which it treated “had passed away,” and that the repetition of them might “inflame the Irish against the English.”

Why, on this principle no history could be written. But supposing only a portion of the evils described had not

passed away, and that Macaulay knew well that such was the case, what opinion can be formed of him as an historian, except that truth was not an essential object of reverence, pursuit, and devotion with him.

If there be a crime against God and man which might seem to realise all the worst features, of the worst of all treasons against God and man, it is that of turning the gifts of genius of the highest order against the sacred interests of truth, justice, and humanity.

Surely no interest rightly understood would have been hurt by an historical sketch, written by a man who truly has spoken of himself as "having a passionate love of common justice and common sense," who in speaking of justice has said—"Truth is its handmaid, freedom is its child, peace is its companion, safety walks in its steps, victory follows in its train. It is the brightest emanation from the Gospel, it is the greatest attribute of God."*

Surely, the Englishman who could indite such a passage as the following in a notice of the memorable Irish events, of 1782, might be supposed capable of writing a more extended account of that entire regime of English Misrule in Ireland well deserving of publication. In the passage above referred to, Sydney Smith says—"Most of the concessions which have been given to Ireland have been given in fear. Ireland would have been lost to this country if the British Legislature had not, with all the rapidity and precipitation of the truest panic, passed those acts which Ireland did not ask, but demanded, in the times of her armed association."

But another and a worthier colleague of Sydney Smith, in the *Edinburgh Review*—Francis Jeffrey—in reply to a letter of Lady Holland, transmitting the historical fragment im-

* *Mem. of the Rev. S. Smith, by Lady Holland, vol. 1, p. 29.*

mediately after her father's death, in 1845, wrote in a very different strain to that of Macaulay.

“That startling and matchless fragment (writes Jeffrey) was laid on my table this morning, and before I had read out the first sentence, the real presence of my beloved and incomparable friend was so brought before me, in all his brilliancy, benevolence, and flashing decision, that I seemed again to hear his voice, and read in his eyes, and burst out into an agony of crying. I went through the whole in the same state of feeling, my fancy kindled and my intellect illumined, but my heart struck through with my sense of our loss, so suddenly, so deeply impressed by this seeming restoration. I do not think he ever wrote anything so good, and I feel mournfully that there is no man alive who could so have written. The effect I am persuaded will be greater than from any of his other publications. It is a voice from the grave. And it may truly be said that those who will not listen to it would not be persuaded though one were to rise from the dead.” *

But in taking a rapid glance at the history of English rule in Ireland for the legitimate purpose I have referred to, of being enabled to form a just opinion of the causes that influenced periodical literature in Ireland, the writer of this work is very far from desiring to renew, unnecessarily, recollections of wrongs of bye-gone times, and to perpetuate by them, feelings of ill-will between English and Irish, supposed, very erroneously, to be of unmixed, distinct, and antagonistic races.

It is exceedingly difficult and very disagreeable to Englishmen to attempt to form any adequate conception of the extent to which misrule was carried in Ireland, and continued by the English Government in Ireland to an advanced period of the present century.

* Lady Holland's Memoir of the Rev. S. Smith, vol. 1, page 426.

Anything much worse than English rule was in Ireland for upwards of 600 years after its origin it would certainly be very difficult to find a reliable account of, in the history of any other country in Europe, conquered, colonized, and occupied by a power of superior power and resources for so many centuries.

But we have no reason to believe that the sufferings of the Irish, at the hands of their invaders and oppressors during the centuries above referred to, were greater than those of the Gauls at the hands of Cæsar and his Roman Legions, or those of the Britons under the Romans for a period of 400 years, or those of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain, 600 years after their settlement there, at the hands of William the Conqueror and his Norman hordes of Norwegian origin.

It is very natural for people severely afflicted to imagine their grievances worse than those of any other nation, and if they can attribute their sufferings to wrongs inflicted by individuals, to conceive such individuals are the most wicked of all oppressors. The same observation applies to the opinions entertained by the natives of all countries that have been over-run, ravaged, colonized, and mis-ruled, of the power by which they have been deprived of their independence, territorial or other property, and ruled oppressively. The people oppressed think the oppression of their country the most galling and intolerable of all the oppressions that have been done under the sun.

The history of France, Italy, Spain, and Portugal, of the Netherlands, Germany (Northern and Southern), Greece, all the ancient countries over-run, ruled, and ravaged by the Turks, and the history of England itself, shews that the course of conquest never did run smooth, that the results of invasions, wars of rapine waged far and near, and annexa-

tions of territory, often made out of the wanton wickedness of pride in widely extended domination, rather than for the sake of absolute profit or advantage to Imperial power, are always the same calamities to the people oppressed, or kept in subjection for the sake of spoliation by powerful and unprincipled rulers.

But if the people who are weak and oppressed happened to have been in the happier circumstances of those rulers of the strong and aggressive nation of another race, would they have acted differently in the time of their power and prosperity towards any neighbouring state that by its inferior limits, population, and physical force was at their mercy?

In all human probability they would not. The writer's experience of the conduct of vast numbers of his countrymen in America in relation to slavery and the abolitionists of slavery confirms him in that opinion.

Let us suppose that England had been inhabited in 1172 by Celts, and Ireland peopled by Anglo-Saxon Normans—are we to imagine the people of the Celtic race would have been restrained by principles of justice or generosity from taking advantage of the comparative weakness of a neighbouring Anglo-Saxon-Norman country, and making use of the superior territorial advantages, military force, material prosperity they enjoyed, to over-run, spoil plant, and oppress the people of the less favoured land?

In all human probability, the people of the Celtic race, in such circumstances as the Anglo-Saxon-Norman one, were then placed, would act precisely as the latter people did in 1172, and down, at least, to the end of the 18th century.

The force of circumstances, and the predominant spirit of the barbarous time in which the propensities of nations are in the direction of raids, aggressions, inroads, spoliations, and territorial acquisitions, it is, to which we must look for the

motive power that manifests itself in those exhibitions on a grand scale, of force and fraud, cupidity and spoliation.

It is not because Englishmen and Irishmen are supposed to be of different and totally distinct races that they were in the position towards each other in which they stood nearly seven centuries ago, and, for the great calamity of both, in which they have stood far too long, and far too near our own times.

That consideration ought never to be lost sight of by Irishmen when pondering over their grievances, great, unquestionably, as they are. It is not, most assuredly, distinctions of race, or of creed, that are to be taken into account when the acts of States and Princes are to be judged, towards neighbouring countries and their people. It is the question of power and prosperity we have to deal with, and all the evil influences that are at work with both in communities as in individuals, when they have been long uncontrolled, and have been in active operation perhaps for centuries when people become actuated by one ruling passion, which manifests itself in inordinate pride, self love, lust of land, power, and aggrandizement.

The more men ponder on these truths, the less senseless talk—and impious as it is stupid—will be heard of the natural aversion of Celts and Anglo-Saxons, of French and English, or of Whites and Blacks, as separate and distinct species of the human race.

How essential to truth, justice, and charity it is to distinguish between the conduct and character of governments, and the people of the nation that is governed by them! How necessary also is it to discriminate the acts of public men from those of persons in private life. It is perfectly true there is but one standard of morals by which deviations from truth, justice, and humanity are to be judged.

But the influences are distinct and discriminate, which surround men in public and private positions. And that distinctive character is to be taken into account in dealing with the misdeeds or mistakes of persons in them. A man, on becoming a minister of state, or a member of any body composed of eminent or exalted individuals, may bring into his new position a fair character, an average amount of good intentions, and upright principles, but he is surrounded by a new atmosphere of opinion, and unless he be a man of great powers of volition, self-dependance, self-reliance, and self-respect, he is insensibly affected, influenced, and eventually controlled by it. It is the old result, of men of strong minds obtaining power over the mental faculties of their less favourably constituted brethren. Nay, it may be something more surprising, namely, the influence of a dominating power of many minds of the same calibre, exercised imperceptibly, in their collective capacity, in one direction mainly, over the mind of one man similarly constituted, but not previously subjected to that influence; and that man's mind perhaps in no respect inferior to that of the persons who exercise it.

So that in the aggregate men may accomplish in an assemblage, over an individual's mind, what they never could effect singly.

Sometimes Irishmen, in the English parliament, become aware of this phenomenon, and what is more singular, acknowledge that they are so.

It has always appeared to the writer of this work, that Irish patriots, advocates at least of Irish rights, have greatly erred and grievously prejudiced their cause, by attributing too much to the influence of race and too little to the force of circumstances.

To ascribe to one race as Pope did to one prelate, "all

the virtues under heaven ;" and to another all the qualities that are usually attributed to the inhabitants of a region infinitely lower, is a mistake—quite as bad as a crime, if not worse in politics ; at least it is a stupid and mischievous blunder. The great O'Connell in this respect erred, by perpetually ringing into the ears of our peasants the perfections which he ascribed to their Celtic origin, and refraining from pointing out to them the defects of character which were assignable partly indeed to the influence of race, but mainly to the circumstances of a state of slavery for several centuries, by no means better than that of the Greeks under their Turkish masters, previously to their liberation. This fact and opinion are stated on the authority of the writer's own personal knowledge and experience.

The vices of servility, mendacity, sycophancy, double-facedness, proneness to quibble, to suspect on light ground, to yield on slight occasions to strong and sudden emotions of anger, are as inevitable products of slavery and rapacity that have subsisted for centuries, as the benefits of good government, including necessarily the influences of truth, justice, freedom, and education are manifest, not only in material but in intellectual advantages.

No one who has made a study of the question of race and the distinctiveness of some of its characteristics, can doubt that there are certain distinctive characteristics of race, which determine physical development, bodily strength, and power of endurance of fatigue and suffering to a considerable extent, and influence by no means slightly, local attachments and family relations. Nor can one unacquainted with that branch of knowledge possibly ignore the fact, that the most strongly marked distinctive character of the Celtic race, is the recuperative power that belongs to it. That power assuredly it possesses in a higher degree than any

other race of which Pritchard, Latham, and Diffenbach, and others have treated.

To that power alone, of recuperative energies, endowed with a vitality, vigour, and fecundity that is inexhaustible, the marvellous fact is to be attributed that the Irish people were not exterminated by the operation of the government of the English pale, and that likewise of the penal code.

Nevertheless, "all the virtues under heaven" cannot be truthfully ascribed to any race, Celtic or Anglo-Saxon. And those persons, either in the press or in the tribune, who hold the opinion that they can, and ought to be attributed to the people alone of the race they suppose to be theirs, pure and unmixed with baser matter, and on that assumption found an argument in favour of their particular views of a governmental policy, may promote some leading object of theirs, temporarily; but their success even to that extent will be the means of exciting bitter feelings of animosity and hatred between peoples supposed (in most instances on very insufficient grounds) to be derived from different races, as for instance, the Irish people are accounted by the *Times* a distinct Celtic race, and the English people a pure, unmixed Anglo-Saxon race.

There is no philosophy, Christian principle, no historical knowledge, no genuine patriotism, and most assuredly no devotion to British imperial interests, rightly understood, in that policy of perpetual railing and reviling people on account of race or origin, that is worthy of the press.

It is greatly to be feared that the ruling passion of the lust of power, territorial aggrandizement, the greed of gain, and monopoly of trade and commerce, that is the settled policy of all great commercial colonizing empires, established by the annexation and subjugation of small or weak states, causes the odium that justly belongs to the govern-

ments that are swayed by this ruling passion of rapacity, to fall on the people of the empire that is ruled by such governments.

Irish writers who are of nationalist principles, Irish patriots who give expression to opinions in favour of Irish rights, would do well to discriminate more than they do between the English government and the English people, when they have to deal with wrongs that are suffered from English rule.

To form any just opinion of the character and tone of Irish periodical literature, these considerations must be kept in mind ; but no less necessary is it to keep in mind the nature of the government of Ireland, and the kind of legislation that existed in it, in those ages of misrule which have been referred to.

We are told by the Attorney-General of James I., Sir John Davies—"It is evident by all the records of the kingdom, that only the English colonies and some few septs of the Irishry, which were enfranchised by special Charters, were admitted to the benefit and protection of the lawes of England, and that the Irish generally were held and reputed aliens, or rather enemies to the Crown of England ; insomuch as they were not only disabled to bring any actions, but they were so farre out of the protection of the lawe it was often adjudged no felony to kill a meere Irishman in the time of peace."*

Now let us see what was the state of things in Ireland, that is to say in "the pale" of the English that was planted in Ireland, and had something analogous with English institutions given to it from the commencement of English rule in certain parts of Ireland.

* Discoverie of the true reason why Ireland was never subdued, &c., till the beginning of the reign of James the First. Lon., 1747. Page 102.

A parliament was holden at Lismore in the time of Henry II. Matthew Paris, the historian, speaks of it, and Cambrensis was present at it.

But in that parliament, or in any subsequent parliament, assembled in Ireland, the people of Ireland, the Irish nation, had no representation.

Elizabeth divided Ireland into shires, parcelled the country her lieutenants were presumed to have any power in, or influence over the chiefs of, into seventeen shires, in which scheme the elements of a parliament were included, but a parliament was not assembled in Ireland in her reign.

James the First, Sir John Davies says, was the first English sovereign who convoked "a free parliament" in Ireland. Sir John Davies' idea of parliamentary freedom may be judged of, by the fact, that James the First created a parliament of borough mongers. He "created" forty boroughs, and virtually gave the representation of the English Pale in Ireland to forty individuals.*

Sir John Davies' denial of any distinct legislature in Ireland for one hundred and forty years after Henry the Second, is to be taken only as an act of obsequious servility to his gracious master, James the First, who was inimical alike to the theory and practice of parliamentary government. He might have referred the royal pedant, who invented the Irish borough parliament scheme, to a statute passed in the second of Richard III., reciting another statute of Henry II., containing a parliamentary legislative enactment, arranging the government of the country.

"In Rymer's *Fœdera*, will be found a writ to convene an Irish parliament in the thirty-eighth Henry III., A.D., 1253; and there is a statute of that year still extant on the

* "*Essay on the Antiquity and Constitution of Parliament in Ireland.*" By H. J. M. Mason. Dublin, 1820.

roll, which will be found in Birmingham Tower, in the Black Book of Christ-Church, Dublin. There is also an Act of a Parliament of Edward I., and the list of the members appears in the history of Sir Richard Cox; and lastly, Sir Richard Bolton, the chief baron, the cotemporary of Sir John Davies (then attorney-general), published an edition of Irish statutes in 1621, and recites an Act of the third of Henry II., which is prior to the period stated by Sir John Davies as the commencement of Irish legislation.”*

It is matter of small importance what the precise character of those assemblies was, composed of English military chiefs, privileged civilians and settlers, courtiers and favoured adventurers, and ecclesiastical functionaries, like those public councils, by some Anglican historians designated “parliaments,” which were held at Lismore, 1172, by Henry the Second, to consult on the affairs of the English, newly arrived in Ireland. All that is of importance for Irishmen to know is, that the Irish had no place in them at the commencement of the English settlement in Ireland, either by representation, in virtue of exalted position, property in the soil, or permission of the invaders of any kind.

Any forms or similitudes of English institutions, or *simulacra* of constitutional charters, privileges, courts, and municipalities that were introduced into Ireland from England, were imported into the English colony in Ireland, and given to the descendants of the Ostmen who inhabited some of the maritime towns and cities. The Irish retained their own laws, usages, and customs, and were thought unworthy of those of the English colonists.

It was not till the reign of Edward the First that the English assemblies, councils, or baronial consulting bodies, began to assume something of a parliamentary

* Memoirs of Grattan. Vol. 1, page 10.

aspect. A grand colonial assembly was convened in the name of Edward the First, wherein a new division of Ireland into counties was ordained. Absentee English settlers, it was decreed, should contribute, in proportion to the lands assigned to them, to the maintenance of a military force in Ireland. And in consequence of the incursions of the natives on the borders of the English settlements, the Lords of the Marches who should neglect the defences of the borders against the natives, it was ordained should forfeit their lands. It was decreed, moreover, that the English colonists should wage no wars with the natives, without license of the chief governors, or special mandate of the Sovereign.

In the reign of Henry the Third, during the Vice-royalty of the Duke of Clarence, the notable "Statute of Kilkenny" was passed, which furnishes evidence the most authentic, and the most irrefragable, that any ordinance of the English pale councils, had previously offered of the fact, that for two centuries after the Anglo-Saxon invasion, in 1172, the people of Ireland remained totally excluded from the protection and benefit of English laws, and had no participation in the enactment of them.

This state of things it was the deliberate aim, and end, and policy of the English rule in Ireland to maintain. And with that settled purpose of hatred to the Irish people, that is so terrible to contemplate, the statute of Kilkenny passed into law, and received the royal sanction.

The evident animus of the framers of this law was to perpetuate hatred between the colonists and the natives. They legislated on the ground of its being the true interest of the English settlers in Ireland to be totally and permanently separated and estranged from the people of the soil, and that policy had been acted on by all the English

administrations in Ireland, we are told by Sir John Davies. The statute of Kilkenny was mainly directed to that object, in its denunciations of "the degenerate English," as the colonists were designated, who held any relations of amity with the Irish, who formed any alliances with them, or adopted their usages or raiment.

But the savagery of this statute of Kilkenny was reserved mainly for the unfortunate natives. They were not only put out of the pale of English protection, but their destruction and extinction were evidently contemplated in the provisions against them of that law, truly diabolical.

The parliament of the English pale was an institution wholly and solely established, maintained, and worked for the English interest in Ireland. The great mission it had to accomplish was to plunder the natives, to provide supplies for government, to furnish subsidies to English Sovereigns, to legalize spoliations and assignments of lands to the adherents of any of the predominant lords of the pale.

The royal institutors of the parliaments of the pale, to maintain their power over the refractory English lords, felt it was necessary for them, from time to time, to make a *burla* and a sophism of that much vaunted institution.

So the English sovereigns became tyrants and oppressors from time to time over the lords of the pale in their Irish parliament. And ever and anon a predominant Butler or Fitzgerald rebelled against the English tyranny, but never refrained from plundering and oppressing the unfortunate natives on the borders of the pale, in the interim.

Henry the Seventh determined on curbing effectually the lords of the pale and their parliament in Ireland. The latter he resolved to reduce to a mere court of registry, for recording English royal edicts and acts of parliament made in England, and measures introduced in the Irish parliament,

by lord deputies and justices, of subsidies to be sanctioned by it.

Sir Edward Poynings was appointed Lord Deputy in 1494, by Henry the Seventh, to extinguish the power of the feudal barons of the pale, and the independence of the Irish parliament.

In November, 1494, the parliament was held in Drogheda, which abolished the constitutional character of the independence of the Irish parliament, of the pale.

The act which effected this object, renewed in its main policy, or explained by later acts of Philip and Mary, and the sixth of George the First, continued in force up to the declaration of legislative independence, in 1782.

One of the acts of the parliament of Drogheda, of 1494, above referred to, was levelled at the power of the lords of the pale, which they abused, it was said, to the great prejudice of the small farmers of English race, in the four counties which comprised the pale. Another act of this session of the Drogheda parliament is particularly illustrative of the policy of the pale, its view of "the English interest," and its sentiments with regard to "the Irish enemy."

That act ordains that the borders of the English pale, in the four shires which it comprised, should be entrenched, fortified, and secured against the native Irishry, by means of dykes and castles, and thus, that separation should be effectually made between the two hostile races.

The spirit of the barbarous policy, of which that act was an emanation in a barbarous age, strange to say, seems to have influenced the views of that able and eminent legal celebrity of our times, who, in one of his speeches on a momentous occasion, described the people of Ireland, in contra-distinction to Englishmen, as aliens in religion, aliens in blood, aliens by birth and language.

"The law of Poynings," passed in the parliament held

in Drogheda in November, 1494, 10th year of the reign of Henry the Seventh, enacted, "That all acts made, as well by his Majesty as by his royal progenitors, late kings of England, concerning the common and public weal of the same, were accepted and confirmed, to be used in Ireland, according to the tenor and effect thereof."

By another act of the same legislature it was provided that:

"No parliament should be held in Ireland until the causes and considerations for holding it were first certified by the deputy and council to the King, with the scope and intention of the acts proposed to be passed:

"Item.—At the request of the commons of the law of Ireland, be it ordained, enacted, and established, that at the next parliament, that there shall be holden by the king's commandment and license, wherein the king's grace intendeth to have a general resumption of his whole revenues, sith the last day of the reign of King Edward the Second, no parliament be holden hereafter in the said land, but at such season as the king's lieutenant and council there first do certify the kind under the great seal of the land, the causes and considerations and all such acts as to them seemeth should pass in the same parliament, and such causes, considerations, and acts, affirmed by the king and his council, to be good and expedient for that land, and his license thereupon, as well in affirmation of the said causes and acts, as to summon the said parliament under his great seal of England had and obtained: that done, a parliament to be had and holden after the form and effect afore rehearsed: and if any parliament be holden in that land hereafter, contrary to the form and provision aforesaid, it be deemed void and of none effect in law."

Mr. Prendergast, in his "Cromwellian Settlement of

Ireland," London, 8vo., 1865, speaks of Poynings' Law, forced by the deputy of Henry VII. on the Irish Parliament, as "a statute whereby the Privy Council of England were made virtually part of the parliament of Ireland." "The first blow to the English, of Irish birth, was the limiting the power of the Parliament."

The best account extant of the antecedents, and results of the statute called Poynings' Law is to be found in a very rare and valuable pamphlet, entitled, "Sketches of the History of Poynings' Law, and of the usages of Parliament in Ireland, in the reigns of the Tudors, deduced from Records and other Authentic Documents." Dublin, Colbert, 1780, 63 pages.

In reference to the limits of the English Pale in Ireland at that time, and the extent of territory in which the administration of laws made in the Pale Parliament at this period, from 1494 to 1500 (and much later) was practicable, the author says:—"The statute of the 13th Henry VIII., c. 3, mentions four shires only wherein the King's laws are *occupied*. Baron Finglas, who wrote about the 20th of Henry VIII. has these words:—'Never sithence (since Henry VI.) did the Geraldines of Mounster, the Butlers, or Geraldines of Leinster, obediently obey the Kyng's laws in Ireland, but continually allied themselves with Irish, using coyne and livery, whereby all the Londe is now of *Irish Rule*, except the little English Pale, within the counties of Dublin, and Myeth, and Uriell, which pass not 30 or 40 miles in compass."

The author of this pamphlet makes an observation very well deserving indeed of attention, though one not previously made, I believe: that it was the Irish who had been compelled to seek an asylum in America by the unbearable oppression to which they had been subjected in their own

land, who first roused the Americans to a sense of the dangers they were exposed, when England took the first fatal step in the imposition of taxes, by an act of the English Parliament, in which the American people had no voice.

Poynings' Law, which the author designates "an iniquitous measure," meant to do no more than was attempted in vain to be done in America.

"Our rulers (says the author) have tried their hand in times more adapted to their views, without effect, except, indeed, the putting our brethren of America upon their guard against the first encroachments on their constitution. Our countrymen, whose high spirit could not brook oppression, and who fled to America for protection, first sounded the alarm, and it is, perhaps, not a strained assertion, that *America was lost in Ireland.*"

"The Declaratory Act 3rd and 4th of Philip and Mary, introduced to settle doubts created by contradictory provisions of Poynings' statute, had made things worse than they were before, as it enacted, that no other acts but those transmitted either before or during the session, could be enacted by Parliament," a provision that, in point of fact, denied the right previously exercised by the Irish Parliament.*

"The introduction of English Civility into Ireland," in the reigns of Henry VIII and Elizabeth, consisted of measures, such precisely as are taken in our own times for reducing the natives of New Zealand, taking their lands, devastating their possessions, destroying their food,—in a word, exterminating them.

As James I. set aside (in the Irish rule of his reign) the fundamental policy of English law—the law of mortmain in

* Sketch of the History of Poynings' Law, &c. Dublin, 1780 Page 57.

favour of the corporation of London, to whom he assigned the chief portion of the lands of the county of Derry, so later acts enabled other corporate bodies to purchase Irish lands. And on the same principle as that of James I. the late Sir Robert Peel urged the city of London to plant Connaught.

The relations of the people of Ireland with the possessors of the soil within the English Pale, and beyond its limits, where its influence began to extend in the time of James I., were such as might have been expected—namely, of fear, repugnance, and deadly hate.

The Irish Parliament legalized all seizures of the soil of the natives, and all acts calculated and intended to exterminate the Irish race, but yet there was a marked repugnance evinced by James I. to follow the terrible example of his remorseless predecessor. The savagery of her rule in Ireland was not to his taste, and that which was practised on a smaller scale in his reign, by his agents, was not in accordance with his views or wishes.

The great Irish Rebellion, which broke out in October, 1641, and was at various times suspended, had broken out afresh, and was again interrupted, and again renewed, was only declared by Parliament entirely subdued in September, 1653. In the interim, Cromwell had landed in Ireland, the 14th August, 1649, to carry on the war, which he certainly did with a vengeance, to which fire and sword, carnage and conflagration, lent all their aid.

Of the horrors of this war, abundant details will be found in Spencer's "View of the State of Ireland," Fynes Morrison's "Itinerary," and, lastly, in the best and latest work of all that treats of those times—the admirable "Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," by John P. Prendergast, Esq., barrister, London, 8vo, 1865.

On the 25th of September, 1653, the Parliament passed a law for the new planting of Ireland with English settlers. This parliament, after the wholesale confiscations of the soil, of which the old inhabitants of the island had been dispossessed to the extent of 2,500,000 acres, it might be said *en masse*, proceeded to make provision for the claims of adventurers to the extent of £360,000, equivalent to the value assigned to portions of forfeited estates in various counties specified. The rest of Ireland, except Connaught, was to be set out among the officers and soldiery for their claims of arrears to the extent of £1,500,000; and, further, to satisfy claims for supplies advanced to the army of the Commonwealth, £1,700,000 more. Connaught was reserved for the remnant of the Irish nation *mercifully spared* to be transplanted to that region *most wasted* in Ireland and least available for the purposes of the Pale.

Camden states that the reduction of Ireland in Queen Elizabeth's time cost England £1,198,717 sterling. Sir John Borlase computes the cost of suppressing the rebellion of the Irish, that broke out in 1641, at upwards of £22,000,000, and the loss of life on both sides at 400,000. Sir William Petty estimates the damage occasioned to both parties in that war of 1641 at £37,000,000 sterling.

In the reigns of Charles I. and Charles II., the functions of Parliament in Ireland were so far transferred to the Privy Council that the Lord Lieutenant had to sanction the initiation of all measures, and the Parliament had only the power of negativing any measures proposed on behalf of the Council in the House.

The Parliament of the Revolution sanctioned all the violations of the treaty of Limerick, and asserted its independence in 1692 on the subject of its Money Bill, when punishment immediately ensued in the shape of prorogation, and

on the opinion of the twelve judges in England, and of the eight judges in Ireland, a solemn legal judgment was given against the legislative rights of Ireland.

In 1666 the Irish Government caused its supporters in Parliament, in consideration of "the Act of settlement and explanation," to agree to a Money Bill, assigning to the crown "The Hereditary Revenue of Customs and Excise," in perpetuity, absolutely, and without any control of parliament whatsoever.

English gentlemen in the House of Commons of our time might fancy some foreign influence had obtained an ascendancy over ministers, and had abolished their legitimate control over the finances of their country, if a similar proceeding had been had recourse to, in their parliament.

The acts of parliament passed in Dublin, during the time James the Second was in possession of the capital, are less known than they deserve to be. They are particularly deserving of the attention of Protestants of the present day, who hold opinions favourable to the interests and national rights of their country, but are deterred from asserting them by the fears they entertain of Roman Catholics, if they had the power, of being intolerant and aggressive, of seeking an ascendancy for their church, and oppressing those who did not belong to it. Let such Protestants read a work entitled, "Proceedings of the Parliament in Ireland, beginning March 25, 1689, and ending June following.—London, 1689." Library, British Museum.

"The Parliament of the late King James met in Dublin, the 25th March, 1689, at the Inns. On the 8th of May, the King came to the house, and on the 14th two bills were brought from the Commons against writs of error and appeals to England, and that an Act of Parliament in

England should not bind Ireland. James was present and supported them. A bill brought in on the 13th, by Chief Justice Nugent, to repeal the Act of Settlement, was rejected on the second reading. Such was the liberal disposition of that parliament." Thirty-five bills were passed, several of a liberal character. An act for liberty of conscience, and for repealing all acts or clauses in any Act of Parliament inconsistent with the same. An act concerning martial law. An act to annul and make void all patents of offices for life. An act declaring that the Parliament of England cannot bind Ireland, and against writs of error and appeals to be brought for removing judgments, decrees, and sentences given in Ireland into England. An act regarding absentees. An act concerning tithes. An act of recognition. An act to repeal Poynings' laws. The minutes of the House of Commons, June 21st, state, with respect to this bill, "the report for repealing Poynings' statutes was read, and parliament was told, the King would have a clause inserted to the effect that he and his heirs should have the first bill agreed to by him and his council, before they should pass the Commons, and it was ordered to be printed; and the house inclined to be as free as the Parliament of England."*

In 1719, a case tried in the Irish Court of Exchequer gave rise to an appeal to the Irish House of Commons. From the decision of the Irish House of Commons an appeal was made to the English House of Commons, the decision of which was in opposition to that of the Irish House of Commons. The Irish sheriff, who was called on to put a decree based on that decision in execution, refused obedience. A contest ensued, in which the Irish judges, the Irish parliament, and the executive were involved, and

* Grattan's Memoirs, &c.

the result of it was the enactment of the statute 6th George the First.

An Act of the Irish Parliament, 6th of George the First, had its rise in the conviction on the minds of the thinking portion of the Lords of the pale, and the members of the Irish Parliament, that the selfish English policy, which had imposed such fatal restraints on the commerce and industry of Ireland, and the independence of its parliament, had brought the English colony in Ireland to the brink of ruin.

That profound conviction of theirs had previously found expression in the most remarkable production that had appeared on that subject up to that period, "The Case of Ireland being bound by English Acts of Parliament," by William Molyneux.

The English House, duly appreciating the nature and tendency of the truths promulgated in it, had it burned by the common hangman.

The last of the acts which was aimed at the legislative independence of the Irish Parliament was the 6th of George the First, previously to the declaration of independence, of 1782.

The clauses of that act, 6th of George the First, which was aimed against Irish Parliamentary independence, were the following :—

"Whereas attempts have been lately made to shake off subjection of Ireland upon the Imperial Crown of this realm ; which will be of dangerous consequence to Great Britain and Ireland. And whereas the lords of Ireland, in order thereto, have of late, against law, assumed to themselves a power and jurisdiction to examine, correct, and amend, the judgment and decrees of the courts of justice, in the kingdom of Ireland ; therefore, for the better securing of the dependency of Ireland upon the Crown of Great

Britain, may it please your Majesty, that it may be enacted, and it is hereby declared and enacted, by the King's most excellent Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in the the present parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said kingdom of Ireland hath been, and of right ought to be, subordinate unto and dependant upon the Imperial Crown of Great Britain, as being inseparably annexed and united thereunto; and that the King's Majesty, by and with the advice and consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons of Great Britain, in parliament assembled, hath had of right, and ought to have full power and authority to make laws, and statutes, of sufficient force and validity, to bind the people and the kingdom of Ireland.

“ And be it further enacted, and declared, by the authority aforesaid, that the House of Lords of Ireland have not, nor of right ought to have, any jurisdiction, to judge, affirm, or reverse any judgment, sentence, or decree, given or made in any court within the same kingdom; and that all proceedings before the said House of Lords, upon any such judgment, sentence, or decree, are, and are hereby declared to be utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatever.”

The originating of money bills in the Privy Council had occasioned repeated conflicts between the Irish Government and Parliament.

In 1692 the Irish Commons had rejected a money bill that originated in the Privy Council. Lord Sydney, the viceroy, protested against the act of the Commons, and proclaimed in high terms the prerogative of the king, and then he prorogued parliament.

The revolution of 1688 was not more beneficial to the

English of the Pale than injurious to the Irish that lived on sufferance beyond its precincts.

The right to a seat in either house of Parliament was taken from the Catholics by an English Act of William and Mary, and the Irish legislature joyfully concurred in any measure that inflicted wrong on Roman Catholics, even at the expense of the dignity and rights of their own Legislature.

At the period of the Revolution (1688) Ireland had made considerable progress, not only in agricultural, but manufacturing pursuits. In his work on "Commercial Restraints," Hutchinson says:—

"After the restoration, from the time that the acts of settlement and explanation had been fully carried into execution, to the year 1688, Ireland made great advances, and continued for several years in a most prosperous condition. Lands were everywhere improved, rents were doubled, the kingdom abounded with money, trade flourished to the envy of our neighbours, cities increased exceedingly, many places of the kingdom equalled the improvements of England, the king's revenue increased proportionably to the advance of the kingdom, which was every day growing, and was *well established in plenty and wealth*;* manufactures were set on foot in divers parts, the meanest inhabitants were at once enriched and civilized: and this kingdom is then represented to be the most improved and improving spot of ground in Europe."

But Ireland became indebted to her "Great Deliverer," as Orangemen are pleased to call William III., not only for the violation of civil and religious rights secured to the catholic people of Ireland by treaty, but for the ruin of her

* Lord Sydney's words in his speech from the throne, in 1692, from his own former knowledge of this country. Ir. Com. Journ., vol. 2, p. 577.

material interests. The measures referred to, which prohibited the woollen manufacture in Ireland, passed the English House of Commons in 1697, and came into operation in 1699.

Twenty thousand Irish manufacturers had to fly from their own country to seek the exercise of their industry in foreign lands. They carried their skill to France and the low countries, and there it was fostered and encouraged, soon to the great prejudice of English trade and manufactures.

But in Ireland the result of the Vandal measure of William III. was disastrous in the extreme. The country was reduced to a state of national mendicancy. McNeven, referring to this state of things, says :—

“ Rapidly and surely did poverty overspread our country. The monstrous spectacle was seen of a nation immersed in want, yet with a productive soil, a laborious peasantry, a mild climate; with all the means of wealth scattered around, and all the material of thriving manufacture, wooing the industry of the hungry and oppressed. Without his sin, the people suffered the punishment of the son of Jove; they were condemned to hunger and thirst in the midst of plenty; their outstretched hands were stayed by the mandate of English avarice, and their parched lips denied the cooling draught by the dreadful decree of foreign tyranny. ‘Whoever travels,’ said our illustrious countryman, ‘this island, and observes the face of nature, or the faces and habits and dwellings of the natives, will hardly think himself in a land where law, religion, or common humanity is professed.’* English law, and Irish servility had created the striking contrast between the bounty of nature, and the poverty of man.”

* Swift's Proposal for the use of Irish Manufacture. Vol. 10, p. 12, of Hawkesworth's edition.

"The want of industry soon produced crime; and the out-breaking of the White-boys in 1762, was an indication of that great suffering which had been relieved out of the public purse, in the viceroyalty of the Duke of Bedford, in 1754, when £20,000 was voted to stay the steps of famine. The employment of the people was suggested as a remedy—but the gibbet, as more simple in its stern activity, was adopted."*

There was a considerable emigration at this time to America; and when we are told by writers on the American revolutions, that the persons most prominent at the commencement of the quarrel with the mother country were Irishmen, we may take it for granted that the descendants of the Irish settlers in the United States, in 1770, who were the principal instigators of resistance to the illegal tax levied on American imports, had amongst them many of the Irish who had fled from Ireland in King William's reign.

It is a great mistake to imagine that the question of Irish legislative independence originated with Grattan and his supporters in the Irish Parliament, "the men of 1782." It first took a distinct form in that publication of singular ability—"The case of Ireland being bound by acts of Parliament made in England," by William Molyneux, Dublin, 8vo., 1697-8.

The next eminent writer who followed in the wake of Molyneux, was Dean Swift. The theories of Molyneux were dealt with lucidly and logically in the "Proposal for the universal use of Irish manufacture in cloths, furniture of houses, &c., utterly rejecting and renouncing every thing wearable that comes from England." (Written in the year 1720).

Likewise in the "Letter to Lord Peterborough, detail-

* McNeven's History of the Volunteers.

ing a conversation with Sir Robert Walpole, respecting the rights and privileges of British subjects settled in Ireland." (Written in 1726).

And also in "The Drapier Letters," (published in 1724). And in "The Short View of the state of Ireland," (written in 1727).

The next advocate of Irish rights and privileges, remarkable not so much for his talents, attainments, and high order of intelligence, as his indefatigable perseverance and pertinacity, unflinching courage and devotion to his principles, was Charles Lucas, a Dublin apothecary, who became an agitator of municipal grievances, then of national wrongs, an incorruptible member of Parliament, an eminent physician, an exile restored, after many years separation from friends and home, to his country; who in all positions was true to himself and his opinions, lived and died in comparative poverty, a true patriot, but, it must be acknowledged, a bigot of rampant, puritanical, intolerant principles.

Lucas was born about 1713, was exiled in October, 1749, allowed to return to Ireland in 1761, and died in Dublin, in November, 1771, aged about fifty-eight. The dates of his various "Addresses to the Freeholders of Dublin," and other numerous publications, previous to his exile range from 1741 to 1749, and from his return to Ireland to his decease, chiefly in the "Freeman's Journal," from 1761 to 1771.

This is not the place to enter into the subject of the various productions above referred to, but it is necessary to give some idea of the nature of the controversy, which commenced in 1697-8, resulted in the achievement of 1782, and terminated in the union in 1801.

For this purpose the following brief extracts from Molyneux's *Case of Ireland* are laid before my readers, and they will amply serve to obviate any necessity of entering into the history of the short lived triumph of the principles enunciated by Molyneux, eighty-four years previously to that event.

Molyneux made his appearance on the stage of Irish politics when the people were reduced to misery by the iniquitous law of William the Third, against the exportation of woollen manufactures from Ireland; when the Roman Catholics, moreover, were robbed of any civil rights left to them by iniquitous penal laws, and even secured to them (on paper) in virtue of a solemn treaty.

To borrow a metaphor from the letters published by Johnson (subsequently Judge) in the "*Freeman's Journal*," under the signature of Causidicus, "You may track Catholic Ireland through the mazes of penal law and English Pale regime as you would trace the footsteps of a wounded man by the blood marks on the soil."

Such were the circumstances of Ireland, when William Molyneux produced his work.

Those who desire to enter more into the details of those views and arguments of this very remarkable production, the original source from which Swift, Lucas, Grattan, Flood, Pollock, Drennan, &c., derived all their historical data for the grand controversy waged with English power and injustice in Ireland, will find the pith and marrow of Molyneux's "*Case of Ireland*" comprised in a few pages of carefully selected passages in the appendix.

The following are the extracts from the concluding summary of the arguments of the author, to which I have referred :—

SUBJECT OF INQUIRY.

“THE RIGHT OF ENGLAND TO BIND IRELAND BY LAWS MADE
IN HER LEGISLATURE.

“Ireland—whether ever conquered.

“I come now to enquire into one particular proposed, viz.: Whether Ireland might be properly said to be conquered by King Henry II., or by any other Prince in any succeeding rebellion. And here we are to understand by conquest, an acquisition of a kingdom by force of arms, to which force has likewise been opposed. If we are to understand conquest in any other sense, I see not of what use it can be made against Ireland’s being a free country. I know conquestus signifies a peaceable acquisition, as well as an hostile subjugating of an enemy. Vid. Spelman’s Glos. And in this sense William I. is called the Conqueror, and many of our Kings have used the epocha after the conquest. And so likewise Henry II. styled himself Conqueror and Lord of Ireland; but that his conquest was no violent subjugation of this kingdom, is manifest from what foregoes; for here we have an intire and voluntary submission of all the ecclesiastical and civil states of Ireland, to King Henry II., without the least hostile stroke on any side; we hear not in any of the chronicles of any violence on either part, all was transacted with the greatest quiet, tranquillity, and freedom imaginable. I doubt not but the barbarous people of the island at that time were struck with fear and terror of King Henry II.’s powerful force which he brought with him; but still their easy and voluntary submissions exempt them from the consequents of an hostile conquest, whatever they are; where there is no opposition, such a conquest can take no place.

“ What title is obtained by conquest.

“ But, to take off all pretence from this title by conquest, I shall in its proper place enquire, what title conquest gives by the law of nature and reason.

“ No title gained by an unjust conquest.

“ And in this particular I conceive, that if the aggressor or insulter invades a nation unjustly, he can never thereby have a right over the conquered ; this I suppose will be readily granted by all men ; if a villain with a pistol at my breast, makes me convey my estate to him, no one will say that this gives him any right. And yet just such a title as this has an unjust conqueror, who with a sword at my throat forces me into submission ; that is, forces me to part with my natural estate, and birthright, of being governed only by laws to which I give my consent, and not by his will, or the will of any other

* * * *

“ They that desire a more full disquisition of the matter, may find it at large in an incomparable treatise concerning the True Original, Extent, and End of Civil Government, Chap. 16. This discourse is said to be written by my excellent friend, John Locke, Esq. ; whether it be so or not, I know not ; this I am sure, whoever is the author, the greatest genius in Christendom need not disown it.

“ But granting that what we have said in this matter is wrong, and granting that a conqueror, whether just or unjust, obtains an absolute arbitrary dominion over the persons, estates, lives, liberties, and fortunes of all those whom he finds in the nation, their wives, posterity, &c., so as to make perpetual slaves of them and their generations to come, it still remains to be considered :

“ Concessions granted by a conqueror, whether obligatory.

“ Let us next enquire whether concessions, granted by such a victorious hero, do not bound the exorbitancy of his power, and whether he be not obliged strictly to observe these grants.

“ And here I believe no man of common sense or justice will deny it ; none that has considered the law of nature and nations, can possibly hesitate in this matter ; the very proposing it, strikes the sense and common notions of all men so forcibly, that it needs no farther proof. I shall therefore insist no longer on it, but hasten to consider how far this is the case of Ireland : And that brings me naturally to the fourth particular proposed, viz. To shew by precedents, records, and history, what concessions and grants have been made from time to time to the people of Ireland, and by what steps the laws of England came to be introduced into this kingdom.

* * *

“ But first let us consider the objection of Ireland being a Colony.

“ The last thing I shall take notice of, that some raise against us, is, that Ireland is to be looked upon only as a colony from England : And therefore as the Roman colonies were subject to, and bound by, the laws made by the senate at Rome ; so ought Ireland by those made by the great council at Westminster. Of all the objections raised against us, I take this to be the most extravagant ; it seems not have the least foundation or colour from reason or record : Does it not manifestly appear by the constitution of Ireland, that it is a compleat kingdom within itself ?

Do not the Kings of England bear the stile of Ireland amongst the rest of their kingdoms? Is this agreeable to the nature of a colony? Do they use the title of Kings of Virginia, New-England, or Maryland? Was not Ireland given by Henry II., in a parliament at Oxford, to his son John, and made thereby an absolute kingdom, separate and wholly independent on England, till they both came united again in him, after the death of his brother Richard without issue? Have not multitudes of acts of parliament, both in England and Ireland, declared Ireland a compleat Kingdom? Is not Ireland stiled in them all, the kingdom, or realm of Ireland? Do these names agree to a colony? Have we not a parliament, and courts of judicature? Do these things agree with a colony? This on all hands involves so many absurdities, that I think it deserves nothing more of our consideration.

“ What concessions have been made from the Crown of England to the kingdom of Ireland, by Henry II.

“ We are told by Matth. Paris, Historiographer to Henry III., that Henry II., a little before he left Ireland, in a public assembly and council of the Irish at Lismore, did cause the Irish to receive, and swear to be governed by the laws of England; King Henry (saith he) before he left Ireland, called an assembly at Lismore, where the laws of England were cheerfully received by all, and confirmed with the solemnity of an oath.

“ And not only thus, but if we may give credit to Sir Edward Coke, in the 4th Instit. cap. i. and 76, and to the inscription to the Irish *Modus Tenendi Parliamentum*, it will clearly appear, that Henry II. did not only settle the laws of England in Ireland, and the jurisdiction ecclesias-

tical there, by the voluntary acceptance and allowance of the nobility and clergy, but did likewise allow them the freedom of holding of parliaments in Ireland, as a separate and distinct kingdom from England; and did then send them a Modus to direct them how to hold their parliaments there."

The Modus commenced thus :—

"Henry King of England, Conqueror and Lord of Ireland, &c., sends this form of holding parliaments to the Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Priors, Earls, Barons, Justices, Viscounts, Mayors, Seneschals, Magistrates, and all his loyal subjects of Ireland.

* * * *

"Parliaments very early in Ireland.

"This I am sure of, that whether this be the very record transmitted hither by King Henry II. or not; yet 'tis most certain from the unanimous concessions of all the fore-mentioned antiquaries, Coke, Selden, Pryn, &c., that we have had parliaments in Ireland very soon after the invasion of Henry II. For Pryn confesses that King Henry II., after his conquest of Ireland, and the general voluntary submission, homages, and fealties of most of the Irish kings, prelates, nobles, cities, and people, to him, as to their Sovereign Lord and King, Anno 1170 [it should be 1172], held therein a general council of the clergy at Cashel, wherein he rectified many abuses in the church, and established sundry ecclesiastical laws, agreeable to those in the Church of England: Labouring by all means to reduce the state of that church to the form of the English; to which the Irish Clergy promised conformity, and to observe them for time to come, as Giraldus Cambrensis, who was then in Ireland,

and other historians, relate : And that in every particular the same observances might unite both kingdoms (that is England and Ireland), they all everywhere, with perfect unanimity, by common consent, and with equal cheerfulness, submit to the King's pleasure ; everything, therefore, being settled in this manner, in an assembly held at Lismore, the laws of England were cheerfully accepted by all, and established with the solemnity of an oath, says Mat. Paris.

“ Original Compact for Ireland.

“ Can any concession in the world be more plain and free than this ? We have heard of late much talk in England of an original compact between the King and people of England ; I am sure 'tis not possible to show a more fair original compact, between a king and people, than this between Henry II. and the people of Ireland, that they should enjoy the like liberties and immunities, and be governed by the same mild laws, both civil and ecclesiastical, as the people of England.

“ From all which, it is manifest, that there were no laws imposed on the people of Ireland, by any authority of the parliament of England ; nor any laws introduced into that kingdom by Henry II., but by the consent and allowance of the people of Ireland : For both the civil and ecclesiastical state were settled there, *Regæ sublimitatis auctoritate*, solely by the King's authority, and their own good wills, as the Irish statute, 2 Eliz. c. 1, expresses it. And not only the laws of England, but the manner of holding parliaments in Ireland to make laws of their own (which is the foundation and bulwark of the people's liberties and properties) was directed and established there by Henry II., as if he

were resolved that no other person or persons should be the founders of the government of Ireland, but himself and the consent of the people, who submitted themselves to him against all persons whatsoever.

“ King John made King of Ireland.

“ About the twenty-third year of Henry II. (which was within five years after his return from Ireland) he created his youngson, John, King of Ireland, at a parliament held at Oxford. Soon after, King John, being then about twelve years of age, came into Ireland, from Milford to Waterford, as his father had formerly done. The Irish Nobility and Gentry immediately repaired to him ; but being received by him and his retinue with some scorn and derision, by reason of their long rude beards, which they wore (says Giraldus Cambrensis, Hib. Expug. Cap. 35.) of great length and size, after the manner of their country, they took such offence thereat, and they departed in much discontent ; which was the occasion of the young King’s staying so short a time in Ireland, as he did this his first time of being here.

“ Ireland made an absolute separate Kingdom.

“ And here, before we proceed any farther, we shall observe, that by this donation of the kingdom of Ireland to King John, Ireland was most eminently set apart again, as a separate and distinct kingdom by itself from the kingdom of England ; and did so continue, until the kingdom of England descended and came unto King John, after the death of his brother Richard I., King of England, which was about twenty-two years after his being made King of Ireland ; during which space of twenty-two years, both whilst his father Henry II. and his brother Richard I. were living

and reigning, King John made divers grants and charters to his subjects of Ireland, which are yet in being in this kingdom; wherein he stiles himself Lord of Ireland (the constant stile till Henry VIII.'s time); and in others, Lord of Ireland, and Earl of Meritonía.

“ King John comes a second time into Ireland. The people submit to him.

“ After both crowns were united, on the death of Richard I. without issue, in the royal person of King John: He, about the twelfth year of his reign of England, went again into Ireland, viz. the twenty-eighth day of June, 1210; and Matth. Paris tells us, page 200, after his arrival at the city of Dublin, there met him more than twenty petty Princes of that country, who, struck with the greatest fear, did him homage, and swore allegiance. There also the king caused them to establish the laws and customs of England, appointing viscounts and other magistrates, to govern the people of that kingdom according to the English laws.

“ Concessions from Henry III.

“ His son, King Henry III., came to the crown the 19th of October, 1216, and in November following he granted to Ireland a Magna Charta, dated at Bristol, 12th November, the first year of his reign.

* * *

“ Whether the House of Commons were an essential part of parliament, before the 49th year of Henry III. the learned Mr. Petyt, keeper of the records in the Tower, in his book on that subject, page 71, deduces his 9th augument from the

comparison of the ancient Generale Concilium, or Parliament of Ireland, instanced An. 38, Henry III., with the Parliament in England, wherein the citizens and burgesses were; which was eleven years before the pretended beginning of the Commons in England.

* * * *

“English laws established in Ireland; particularly the law of Parliament.”

“If now we enquire, what were those laws of England that became thus established in Ireland? Surely we must first reckon the great law of parliaments, which England so justly challenges, and all mankind have a right to. By the law of parliament, I mean that law whereby all laws receive their sanction, the free debates and consent of the people, by themselves, or their chosen representatives. That this was a main branch of the English law established in this kingdom, and very foundation of our future legislature, appears manifest from parliaments being so early convoked in Ireland, as the forementioned precedents express.

“Mr Pryn acknowledges one in Henry II'd's time, (page 259, against the 4th Inst), but makes a very false conclusion, that there appear no footsteps of a parliament afterwards, till the third year of Edward II., because the acts of that parliament are the first that are printed in our Irish Statute-book; for so we may argue the parliaments of England to be of later date than pretended, when we find the first printed acts in Keeble to be no older than the 9th of Henry III., whereas 'tis most certain, that parliaments have been held in England some ages before that.

* * * *

“ Modern acts of the parliament of England, naming Ireland.

“I have said before, p. 49, that I would only consider the more antient precedents that are offered to prove, that acts of England particularly naming Ireland, should bind us in this kingdom; and indeed it were sufficient to stop here, for the reason above alleged. However, I shall venture to come down lower, and to enquire into the modern precedents of English acts of parliament alleged against us; but still, with this observation, that 'tis these we complain against as innovations, and therefore they ought not to be brought in argument against us.

“I do therefore again assert, that before the year 1641, there was no statute made in England introductory of a new law that interfered with the right which the people of Ireland have to make laws for themselves, except only those which we have before mentioned, and which we have discussed at large, and submit to the reader's judgment.

“But in the year 1641, and afterwards in Cromwell's time, and since that, in King Charles II., and again very lately in King William's reign, some laws have been made in England to be of force in Ireland. But how this came to pass, we shall now enquire.

“ Acts in favour of Adventurers in 1641.

“In the 17th year of King Charles I., which was in the year 1642, there were three or four acts of parliament made in England for encouraging adventurers to raise money for the speedy suppression of the horrid rebellion which broke out in Ireland the 23rd of October, 1641. The titles of these acts we have in Pulton's Collection of Statutes; but with this remark, that they are made of no force by the acts

of settlement and explanation passed in King Charles II'd's time in the kingdom of Ireland. So that in these we are so far from finding precedents for England's parliament binding Ireland, that they plainly shew, that the parliament of Ireland may repeal an act passed in England, in relation to the affairs of Ireland. . . . Nevertheless it is quite true :

“ All English Statutes before the 10th of Henry VII. were in force in Ireland.

“ In a parliament held at Drogheda, the 10th of Henry VII., cap. 22., it is enacted, that all statutes late (that is, as the learned in the laws expound it, before that time) made in England, concerning the common and public weal of the same, from henceforth be deemed effectual in law, and be accepted, used and executed within this land of Ireland in all points, &c.

“ And in the 14th year of the same King's reign, in a parliament held at Tristle-Dermot, it was enacted, that all acts of parliament made in England for punishing customers, controllers, and searchers, for their misdemeanors ; or for punishment of merchants or factors, be of force here in Ireland, provided they be first proclaimed at Dublin, Drogheda, and other market-towns.

“ Thus we see by what steps and degrees all the statutes which were made in England from the time of Magna Charta, to the 10th of Henry VII., which did concern the common public weal, were received, confirmed, allowed, and authorized to be of force in Ireland ; all which was done by assent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons in the Parliament of Ireland assembled, and no otherwise.

“ English Statutes declaratory of the Common Law in force in Ireland.

“ We shall next enquire whether there are not other acts of the English parliament, both before and since the 10th of Henry VII., which were and are of force in Ireland, though not allowed of by parliament in this kingdom. And we shall find, that by the opinion of our best lawyers, there are divers such ; but then they are only such as are declaratory of the ancient common law of England, and not introductive of any new law ; for these become of force by the first general establishment of the common laws of England in this kingdom, under Henry II., King John, and Henry III., and need no particular act of Ireland for their sanction.

“ English acts introductive of a new law, not of force in Ireland.

“ As to those English statutes since the 10th of Henry VII., that are introductive of a new law, it was never made a question whether they should bind Ireland, without being allowed in parliament here ; till of very late years this doubt began to be moved ; and how it has been carried on and promoted, shall appear more fully hereafter.

“ I say, till of very late years ; for the ancient precedents which we have to the contrary, are very numerous.

* * *

[After referring to various acts in different reigns, in which the kingdom of Ireland is mentioned, Molyneux proceeds to notice some more recent acts which he treats as exceptional.]

“The act for encouraging shipping and navigation, by express name mentions and binds Ireland; and by the last clause in the act, obliges all ships belonging thereto importing any goods from our foreign plantations, to touch first at England.

“The acts prohibiting the exportation of wool from Ireland, to any country except to England, do likewise strongly bind us, and by the 12 Car. 2, c. 32, it was made highly penal on us, and by the 14th of Car. 2, c. 18, 'tis made felony.*

“*English Acts binding Ireland since King William's Reign.*

“I am now arrived at our present days, under the happy government of his Majesty King William III.; and I am sorry to reflect, that since the late revolution in these kingdoms, when the subjects of England have more strenuously than ever asserted their own rights, and the liberty of parliaments, it has pleased them to bear harder on their poor neighbours, than has ever yet been done in many ages foregoing. I am sure what was then done by that wise and just body of senators, was perfectly out of good-will and kindness to us, under those miseries which our afflicted country of Ireland then suffered. But I fear some men have since that, made use of what was then done to other purposes than at first intended.

* * * *

“And thus I presume we have pretty clearly made out our fourth enquiry forementioned; and shewn plainly the several steps by which the English form of government, and English statute laws were received in this kingdom;

* Exporting wool from Ireland is made penal by the Irish statute 13 Henry VIII., c. 2, 28 Henry VIII., c. 17.

and that this was wholly by the people's consent in parliament, to which we have had a very ancient right, and as full a right as our next neighbours can pretend to or challenge.*

In conclusion it is to be observed,

“It is inconvenient to England to assume this power over the Irish Parliament.

“To conclude all, I think it highly inconvenient for England to assume this authority over the kingdom of Ireland. I believe there will need no great arguments to convince the wise assembly of English senators, how inconvenient it may be to England, to do that which may make the lords and people of Ireland think that they are not well used, and may drive them into discontent. The laws and liberties of England were granted above five hundred years ago to the people of Ireland, upon their submissions to the crown of England, with a design to make them easy to England, and to keep them in the allegiance of the King of England. How consistent it may be with true policy, to do that which the people of Ireland may think is an invasion of their rights and liberties, I do most humbly submit to the parliament of England to consider. They are men of great wisdom, honour, and justice; and know how to prevent all future inconveniences. We have heard great outcries, and deservedly, on breaking the edict of Nantes, and other stipulations; how far the breaking our constitution, which has been of five hundred years standing, exceeds that, I leave the world to judge. It may perhaps be urged, that 'tis convenient for the state of England, that the supreme council thereof should make

* The Case of Ireland, &c. By W. Molyneux, Dublin, date of work, 1697-8. Ed. Dub., 1725.

their jurisdiction as large as they can. But with submission I conceive that if this assumed power be not just, it cannot be convenient for the state. What Cicero says in his offices, nothing is profitable that is not upright, is most certainly true. Nor do I think that 'tis anywise necessary to the good of England to assert this high jurisdiction over Ireland. For since the statutes of this kingdom are made with such caution and in such form, as is prescribed by Poynings' Act, 10 Henry VII., and by the 3rd and 4th Philip and Mary, and whilst Ireland is in English hands, I do not see how 'tis possible for the parliament of Ireland to do anything that can be in the least prejudicial to England. But on the other hand, if England assume a jurisdiction over Ireland, whereby they think their rights and liberties are taken away; that their parliaments are rendered merely nugatory, and that their lives and fortunes depend on the will of a legislature wherein they are not parties; there may be ill consequences of this. Advancing the power of the parliament of England, by breaking the rights of another, may in time have ill effects.

“The rights of parliament should be preserved sacred and inviolable, wherever they are found. This kind of government, once so universal all over Europe, is now almost vanished from amongst the nations thereof. Our King's dominions are the only supporters of this noble Gothic constitution, save only what little remains may be found thereof in Poland. We should not therefore make so light of that sort of legislature, and as it were abolish it in one kingdom of the three, wherein it appears; but rather cherish and encourage it wherever we meet it.”*

The dangers which Molyneux clearly foresaw that the

*“The Case of Ireland, being bound by Acts of Parliament, made in England. By William Molyneux, Esq.” Dublin, 8vo., 1697-8.

Irish Parliament were exposed to, were not the “imaginary perils of a visionary theorist.” They were realised to a certain extent within a period of nine years, from the time of the publication of his admirable work, and perhaps, only for it, might have been then realised altogether.

In Queen Anne’s reign the union of Ireland with England was proposed in a very able pamphlet (in all probability emanating from government), entitled :—

THE QUEEN AN EMPRESS,
AND HER THREE KINGDOMS ONE EMPIRE;
OR,
BRIEF REMARKS UPON THE PRESENT, AND A PROSPECT OF THE FUTURE STATE
OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND, AND IRELAND, IN A HAPPY UNION;
IN A LETTER TO A NOBLE PEER.

—
LONDON :
Printed for Baldwin, 1706.
4to. pages 82.

William Molyneux, a relative of Archbishop Usher, the celebrated author of the celebrated book above cited, the friend of Locke, was the son of that Captain Samuel Molyneux who died in 1693, in great repute for his scientific acquirements, but still more for his goodness and integrity. “William Molyneux,” was one of the most distinguished men of his time in Ireland, distinguished alike in philosophy, natural history, astronomy, and literature. He founded the Philosophical Society of Dublin, in 1684.

That he was a lover of literature, and a book collector, and possessor of a valuable library—“choice and curious”—and containing works “scarcely to be met with,” we find from a letter to his brother, (Thomas,) in 1694, cited by Gilbert, in his “History of Dublin.”

On the tomb which was placed over the remains of William Molyneux (who died in October, 1698, in his 42nd year), in St. Andrew's Church, in High Street, Dublin, and which was absurdly removed to Armagh, by Sir Capel Molyneux, some fifty or sixty years ago—William is described as a member of the ancient family of the Molyneux's, to which he had added new lustre by his great claims to distinction, &c. :—"Qui antiqua Molyneuxorum stirpe ortus stemmata sua egregius meritorum titulis ornavit: familiæ eruditæ famam per universam rem publicam literariam latius sparsit."

The treatise of Molyneux embraces the whole subject of Irish Parliamentary Independence. It is the first statement of the violation of national rights and legislative privileges of Ireland, on the part of the British government, the first solemn protest publicly made against the injustice of the English Legislature manifested in superseding the Irish Parliament, and framing statutes in the English House of Commons, to bind the people of this country.

No sooner was the temperate, able, and irrefragable statement of Molyneux published than it was denounced as a treasonable document in the English House of Commons, and ordered to be burned by the common hangman.

This summary mode of disposing of irrefutable argument, is had recourse to on the same principle that people of heterodox opinions in Spain were formerly burned to improve their theology. The principle, however, is bad, and the practice is abominable. There is a blunder, moreover, in the latter, as well as a brutality; opinions survive the books in which they were enshrined, and the men who promulgated them. They are not to be turned out with the books or bodies of their originators. This fact the English Government seemed to have become aware of in the course

of a few months after consuming the work of Molyneux, for they found it necessary to employ a professional pamphleteer to refute the arguments of Molyneux. "An answer to Mr. Molyneux, his Case of Ireland's being bound by English Acts of Parliament and his dangerous notion of Ireland's being under no subordination to the parliamentary authority of England,

"REFUTED

"By reasoning from his own arguments and authorities."

London : Parker, 8vo., 1698, pages 171.

The author's name is not affixed to this bulky, overgrown pamphlet. He was known, however, as Mr. Charles Davenant.

Strange to say, his work, which was patronised by government, is barely known to exist, the only copy the author has ever seen of it is in his possession ; while on the other hand the condemned work of Molyneux is to be found in every book shop. It has risen from its ashes, and been multiplied in numerous subsequent editions.

Whoever would understand the reason why the great element of civilization, the art of printing, and consequent dissemination of knowledge, and calling into active life and energy the intellectual powers, was so tardy in its development in Ireland, so slow in making its way from England to that country, it cannot be repeated too often, must know the vast difference in the circumstances, position, and institutions of the two countries.

Of that knowledge a very essential part must be an intimate acquaintance with the "Land settlement of Ireland," the wholesale confiscations of several periods of organised rapacity that constituted English rule in Ireland, from the invasion of Henry II., in 1172, to Elizabeth's and Crom-

well's confiscations, and the later Williamite spoliation of the natives and the settlers who had intermarried with them, and had adopted, or adhered to the Roman Catholic religion.

The restoration settlement, moreover (that of Charles II.), designated "The Acts of settlement and explanation;" the revolution settlement (or the sale of the confiscated estates, the forfeitures of 1688—1693), with its complement, the Popery Acts; the latest attempts of the English Government to introduce a new Protestant plantation into Ireland must likewise be borne in mind, recalled, not for the purpose of exciting hate, but of serving to promote the legitimate interests of history, to make its truths known, and beneficial to all, the ruled first, and their rulers next.

This subject may be fitly ended here by some very remarkable observations of Lord Chancellor Clare, in a speech of his, in advocacy of the Union in the Irish House of Peers, the 10th Feb., 1800.

Those observations of a man of great abilities, of no sympathies, be it remembered, with the advocates of Irish rights or privileges of any kind, are well deserving of attention, and the main facts stated have never been disputed.

"The civil war of 1641, was a rebellion against the Crown of England, and the complete reduction of the Irish rebels by Cromwell, redounded essentially to the advantage of the British empire. But admitting the principle in its fullest extent, it is impossible to defend the acts of settlement and explanation, by which it was carried into effect; and I could wish that modern assertors of Irish dignity and independence, would take the trouble to read and understand them.

"The Act of Settlement professes to have for its object the execution of his Majesty's gracious declaration for the settlement of his kingdom of Ireland, and satisfaction of the

several interests of adventurers, soldiers, and other his subjects there, and after reciting the rebellion, the enormities committed in the progress of it, and the final reduction of the rebels by the king's English and Protestant subjects, by a general sweeping clause vests in the king, his heirs and successors, all estates, real and personal, of every kind whatsoever in the kingdom of Ireland; which at any time from the 21st of October, 1641, were seized or sequestered into the hands, or to the use of Charles I. or the then king, or otherwise disposed of, set out, or set apart by reason, or on account of the rebellion, or which were allotted, assigned, or distributed to any person or persons for adventures, arrears, reprisals, or otherwise, or whereof any soldier, adventurer, or other person were in possession for or on account of the rebellion. And having thus, in the first instance, vested three fourths of the lands and personal property of the inhabitants of this island of the king, commissioners are appointed, with full and exclusive authority, to hear and determine all claims upon the general fund, whether of officers and soldiers for arrears of pay, of adventurers who had advanced money for carrying on the war, or of innocent papists, as they are called. In other words, of the old inhabitants of the island, who had been dispossessed by Cromwell, not for having taken a part in the rebellion against the English crown, but for their attachment to the fortunes of Charles II. But with respect to this class of sufferers, who might naturally have expected a preference of claim, a clause is introduced, by which they are postponed after a decree of innocence by the commissioners, until previous reprisal shall be made to Cromwell's soldiers and adventurers, who had obtained possession of their inheritance. I will not detain the house with a minute detail of the provisions of this act, thus passed for the settlement of Ireland; but I wish

gentlemen, who call themselves the dignified and independent Irish nation, to know, that seven millions eight hundred thousand acres of land were set out under authority of this act, to a motley crew of English adventurers, civil and military, nearly to the total exclusion of the old inhabitants of the island; many of whom were innocent of the rebellion, lost their inheritance, as well for the difficulties imposed upon them by the court of claims, in the proofs required of their innocence, as from a deficiency in the fund for reprisal to English adventurers, arising principally from a profuse grant made by the Crown to the Duke of York; and the parliament of Ireland, having made this settlement of the Island in effect on themselves, granted an hereditary revenue to the crown, as an indemnity for the forfeitures thus relinquished by Charles II.

“After the expulsion of James from the throne of England, the old inhabitants made a final effort for recovery of their ancient power, in which they were once more defeated by an English army, and the slender reliques of Irish possessions became the subject of fresh confiscation. From the report made by the commissioners appointed by the parliament of England in 1698, it appears, that the Irish subjects outlawed for the rebellion of 1688, amounted to three thousand nine hundred and seventy-eight; and that their Irish possessions, so far as could be computed, were of the value annually of two hundred and eleven thousand six hundred and twenty-three pounds, comprising one million sixty thousand seven hundred and ninety-two acres. This fund was sold under the authority of an English act of parliament, to defray the expenses incurred by England in reducing the rebels of 1688, and the sale introduced into Ireland, a new set of adventurers.

“It is a subject of curious and important speculation to

look back to the forfeitures of Ireland incurred in the last century. The superficial contents of the island are calculated at eleven millions and forty-two thousand six hundred and eighty-two acres. Let us now examine the state of forfeitures :

“ Confiscated in the reign of James I. the whole					
of the province of Ulster, containing, acres -					2,836,837
“ Set out by the court of claims at the restoration, acres -					
-	-	-	-	-	7,800,000
“ Forfeitures of 1688, acres -					1,060,792
					<hr/>
“ Total,					11,697,629
					<hr/>

“ So that the whole of your island has been confiscated, with the exception of the estates of five or six old families of English blood, some of whom had been attainted in the reign of Henry VIII. ; but recovered their possessions before Tyrone’s Rebellion, and had the good fortune to escape the pillage of the English Republic inflicted by Cromwell ; and no inconsiderable portion of the island has been confiscated twice or perhaps thrice in the course of a century. The situation therefore of the Irish nation at the revolution stands unparalleled in the history of the inhabited world. If the wars of England carried on here, from the reign of Elizabeth, had been waged against a foreign enemy, the inhabitants would have retained their possessions under the established law of civilized nations ; and their country have been annexed as a province of the British empire.” *

The preceding rapid summary of the terrible results of the regime of the English Pale in Ireland, from the invasion, in the time of Henry II., and the subse-

* Speech of Lord Chancellor Clare on moving consideration of the Royal Message relative to the proposed Legislative Union, in the Irish House of Lords, February 10, 1800. Published by authority, Milliken, Dublin, 1800.

quent terrorism of the Penal Code, is essential to an adequate comprehension of the reasons why the rights and interests of the great majority of the people of Ireland, the Roman Catholic population, seem to have been altogether ignored in the periodical literature of Ireland, from its origin to the latter part of the 18th century.

A few words remain to be said of the new calamity in the reign of Elizabeth, which gave additional horrors to the government of the English Pale in Ireland.

From the time of Henry II. to that of Elizabeth, English rule in Ireland was a regime of tyranny and rapine, I will not say unequalled in its injustice in the history of domination and oppression in other countries in Europe, over-run, planted, or colonized by more powerful states at the same period of feudalism slowly emerging out of barbarism, but certainly not surpassed.

In the reign of Elizabeth the administration of the government in Ireland was absolutely as inhuman, merciless, and unrelenting as the administration of the Turkish Government in any of the provinces of the Ottoman Empire, inhabited by Greek Rajahs of the Christian faith, with which I was well acquainted, and of which I have treated in my *Eastern Travels*. This statement is made not at random, but with all due consideration and reflection. The terrible regime of that administration was not only fully known to Elizabeth and concurred in by her, but *the merit* is claimed for her of originating by her special instructions several of the most signally wicked of its atrocious measures. Some of the worst qualities of the most brutal sovereign of his time, of her father Henry VIII., were inherited by her, and in the names of religion and civilization practical manifestations were given of them by her, in her orders to her Depu-

ties and Lieutenants in Ireland, to oppress and exterminate the natives.

Barrington, in his *Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation*, referring to the regime of Elizabeth in Ireland, says :—

“ The Reformation (then fully established in England) furnished her with the means of effecting a general subjugation of Ireland, more fatal and effective than the keenest sword which had been employed by any of her predecessors for the same purpose.

“ Elizabeth proceeded systematically in her projects. She first ordered the performance of the Catholic worship to be forcibly prohibited in Ireland. She ordered the *rack* to be employed, and directed her officers to *torture the suspected Irish*. She ordered free quarters on the peasantry to gratify her soldiers, and rouse the natives to premature insurrections. Her executioners were ordered to butcher them without mercy. Religion was abolished by *martial law*, and Divine worship prohibited under pain of death.

“ This curious order of Queen Elizabeth remains still on record.—By her instructions to the Deputy of Munster (Carew) in 1598-9, on his going over to carry her exterminating schemes into execution in that country, she authorises her officers to ‘ put *suspected* Irish to the *rack*, and to *torture* them when they should find it *convenient*.’—Carew fulfilled her Majesty’s instructions to their full extent, and at the conclusion of his government she had the satisfaction of finding that Munster was nearly depopulated.

“ It is here well worthy of reflection, that the exercise of free quarters and martial law,—the suspension of all municipal courts of justice—the *discretionary* application of the *torture to suspected* persons—executions in cold blood, and the various measures which Mountjoy and Carew, and the other officers of Elizabeth carried into effect in Ireland by

“her authority in 1598-9, were again judged to be expedient,
 “and were again resorted to with vigour in the years 1798-9,
 “two hundred years after they had been practised by the
 “ministers of Elizabeth.

“Harassed by every mode that the ingenuity of oppres-
 “sion could inflict or dictate, the natives, already barbarised
 “by servitude, became savage by irritation ; and at length
 “the whole population, wrought up to frenzy, flew into re-
 “sistance, and have been libelled as traitors to the British
 “crown for asserting the indefeasible rights of human
 “nature, and claiming the enjoyments of civil liberty, for
 “which their allegiance was only a—‘condition subse-
 “quent.’ ”

The Earl of Tyrone raised the standard of insurrection against the Government of Elizabeth.

“At the conclusion of these dreadful campaigns, though
 “the Irish people had been diminished by nearly a moiety,
 “and though the entire of Ulster, and a great proportion of
 “the other provinces, were confiscated to her Majesty,
 “Elizabeth had not sated the voracity of her rancour. The
 “chiefs had been reduced to beggary,—the clergy had been
 “executed.”

In the terrible warfare that ensued no efforts were left untried, by her Lieutenants, to crush in the name of religion the Irish people—“They were slaughtered, their houses
 “destroyed, their castles razed, yet she still felt that race was
 “not extinguished. Though under the weight of enormous
 “pressure the Irish Chiefs still breathed, but it was the
 “breath of vengeance.

“The very name of England and Reformation were
 “rendered detestable by the savage cruelties of Elizabeth’s
 “reformers.

“Similar efforts of that determined and unrelenting Prin-
 “cess to crush the Irish people (subsequent to Tyrone’s re-

“bellion) during her long reign were repeatedly resisted. Ireland seemed to Elizabeth a land of Hydras. Every head she severed appeared to occasion the springing up a number of new enemies. She slaughtered and she burned, yet could not exterminate. At length she expired, leaving Ireland to her successor more depopulated, desolated, and wasted, yet more inveterate, and still unsubdued, than the day she received the sceptre.”

The condition of the Catholic people of Ireland was not much better, or rather not much less intolerable in the successive reigns of James I., Charles I., and even after the Restoration in the reign of Charles II.

During the period of nearly twelve years, from 1649 to 1660, the dates of the Execution of Charles I., and of the Restoration of Charles II., the sufferings of the Irish people were, if possible, worse than in the reign of Elizabeth.

The Revolution of 1688 was anything but beneficial to the people of Ireland; to the real interests of the Protestants it was a great calamity; to the civil and religious rights of the Catholics it was still more injurious.

The English sovereign, James II., *de jure* and *de facto*, King of England, having been expelled from one portion of his dominions sought protection in Ireland, and found there what he sought.

“Ireland,” says Barrington, “defended her *legitimate* monarch against the usurpation of a *foreigner*; and whilst a Dutch guard possessed themselves of the British capital, the Irish people remained firm and faithful to their King, and fought against the invader.

“The triumph of William over the Irish Royalists at the Boyne, and at Aughrim; and the deceptive capitulation

"lation of Limerick, finally established William on the throne of both nations."*

The particular claims of William's memory to the pious love and reverence of any section of the Irish people it is difficult to comprehend.

In 1698, the English manufacturers had addressed King William, complaining that the Irish were applying themselves to the woollen manufactures, to the great prejudice of the trade of England; and they prayed that he would hinder the export of wool from Ireland, except it be sent to England. His reply was—"I shall do all that in me lies to discourage the woollen manufacture in Ireland."

In 1715 and 1745, a considerable portion of the people of Scotland forgot their oaths and allegiance. They revolted in favour of that very Prince whom the people of Ireland had been reviled, and put to the sword for defending.

The Irish at both periods remained quiescent; but they experienced no better treatment for their loyalty. They had, however, no more territory to be robbed of, but they had a religion to be persecuted, feelings and principles to be outraged, civil rights to be deprived of. No greater inhumanity was practiced in Europe at any period, certainly within the past seven centuries, than was manifested by English rule in Ireland, from its origin to the latter part of the 18th century.

During the reign of William III., and the succeeding reigns of Anne, George I., and George II., it would really appear the main function the Irish Parliament had assigned to it, was to enact laws, to give a monopoly to power, influence, and state protection to the Protestant Church, and to persecute the members of the Roman Catholic Church.

* Barrington's Rise and Fall of the Irish Nation. PP. 205 et Seq.

Elsewhere the question has been asked by the author of this work—What opinion would any rational Christian-minded man of any foreign country form of the character of the Protestant Church of Ireland, if he had ascertained that its maintenance rendered such measures necessary for its security, as those which are referred to in the following exceedingly compendious “Abstract of the Penal Laws, and Summary Notice of their enactments?”

It was on the 3rd of October, 1691, that the Treaty of Limerick, guaranteeing to the Catholics of Ireland, their estates, privileges, immunities, such as they enjoyed them in the reign of Charles II., was ratified by King William. Will it be believed that in nineteen days after that solemn ratification, the English Parliament passed the final statutes, excluding Catholics from the Irish Houses of Lords and Commons?

In four years after this first act of degradation passed in this reign the Catholics were deprived of every means of educating their children, and were not allowed even to become their guardians. Their arms were next taken from them; and their priests were obliged to desist from the exercise of their functions under pain of banishment. Such were the laws framed against the subjects, of the Roman Catholic religion, of the English Sovereign, William III.—laws calculated to brutalize men’s minds of any creed—laws which William, the very King who had pledged the nations honour and his own faith, for the security of the rights and privileges of Irish Roman Catholics, inflicted on them.

The next iniquity of this kind is the penal statute against Catholics in the time of Queen Anne, in 1704.

On that occasion bigotry displayed itself somewhat rapaciously by a legal attack on the property of Roman Catholics. By this iniquitous measure the son of a Roman

Catholic parent was set against his father (on the plea of promoting the interests of true religion), by enacting that any son of a Catholic who would turn Protestant, should succeed to the estate of his Popish father, which estate during the life of that father could not be sold, or charged even with a debt or legacy. At whatever age, however young, the child declared himself a Protestant, it was provided that he should be taken from his father's house and delivered to the custody of some Protestant. No tie, however tender—no claim, however dear—or right, however sacred,—was respected by Penal Law Legislation.

Intermarriages between Protestants and Catholics were then interdicted.

The purchase of land, or taking of land on lease for a longer term than 31 years was prohibited.

No Catholic could be heir-at-law to any estate. The right to it, it was enacted, should pass to the next Protestant heir as if the Roman Catholic heir had ceased to exist.

If a Catholic died intestate his son could not inherit his property. It was divided equally among all his children. By the same Draconian Penal Law, a clause was enacted which long operated with depressing and most degrading influence on the interests and feelings of Roman Catholics, which prohibited Catholics from holding any office of trust, civil or military. By it also Catholics were forbidden to dwell within the cities of Limerick or Galway.

A little later, another, and if possible a more iniquitous law than the preceding one was enacted in 1709—in the same reign of Queen Anne. It was then enacted that the converted son of a Catholic father by right tendering a certificate of his conversion in the Court of Chancery, could compel his father to make a statement on oath of his property, and also to make that son an allowance at the son's discretion.

Moreover, it was provided by that law that the wife of a Catholic on turning Protestant became entitled to an increase of jointure. Moreover, it was enacted by that law that no Catholic could hold an annuity for life. Moreover, Catholic education was made a felony by that law. Catholic schoolmasters were declared outlaws, and ordered to be prosecuted, and dealt with as convicted felons. A reward of £40 a year was proclaimed in this statute, to be paid to every priest who would abandon his religion and his flock.

Rewards were also proclaimed in it to persons who would inform against Catholic Priests and Bishops—£50 for discovering a Bishop—£20 for discovering a common Priest, and £10 for discovering a Catholic Usher of a School.

Any two justices of the peace were empowered to enforce information from any Catholic above 18 years of age, under a penalty of a year's imprisonment for refusing to answer. Thus were the bonds of civil society torn asunder, the law made an instrument of injustice, inhumanity, and wickedness of the highest degree; and a legal sanction was given to unprincipled men to commit atrocious crimes; the worst class of people thus privileged and rewarded for treachery and perjury were let loose against innocent people and virtuous ecclesiastics, whose only crime was belonging to a religion which was proscribed by law. Penal Law barbarity had not yet gone far enough; later in the same year, 1709, it was enacted that no Protestant could hold property in trust for a Catholic.

And to crown the wickedness of this Penal Law, it was provided that in any trial arising out of these statutes all the jurors should be Protestants.

Further, it was provided that Catholics should be excluded from grand juries, and any trial wherein "the Protestant

interest " was concerned, it was ordered that any Catholic juror might be challenged, and set aside.

The spirit of persecution did not die out with Queen Anne. The first George of the House of Hanover proclaimed his adherence to the policy of his predecessor, *in defence of the Protestant Church*, as persecution was always designated in Ireland.

In the reign of George I., it was enacted that any Protestant might seize the horse of a Roman Catholic, and keep legal possession of it on the payment of five pounds sterling.

In this reign, too, of George I., Catholics were excluded from the petty offices of high and low constable. In Catholic towns the Catholics thereof were obliged to provide Protestant watchmen. And further, it was again enacted that Catholics should not vote at elections.

George II. followed the same course of unrelenting persecution as his predecessor. In this reign any little remnants of liberty of conscience that were left to Roman Catholics were taken from them. The 7th of George II. subjected any barrister or attorney to the penalty of disability of practising his profession for the crime of marrying a Roman Catholic woman. And by the 9th of the same Sovereign, Papists residing on the coast of any part of Ireland on which a descent had been made by privateers of any Catholic Prince, should make good any loss or damage sustained by Protestants in the localities in which they lived.

By the Penal Laws enacted in the reign of George II., not only Protestant barristers and solicitors who married Roman Catholics were subjected to the penalties attached to Roman Catholics, but the Priest who celebrated a marriage between a Roman Catholic and a Protestant might be hanged.

And now we have to do with a Penal Law which has survived all the partial relaxations of the Penal Code of 1779, 1793, 1782, and 1829.

The Irish act of William III., chapter 3, and the 2nd of Anne, chapter 6, declared all marriages of Protestants with Papists null and void.

The 19th of George II., cap. 13, sec. 1, declares not only all marriages between Catholics and Protestants "null and void to all intents and purposes," but the priest who solemnizes any such mixed marriages liable to suffer death.

The Catholic Relief Bill, as is called the 33rd of George III., chapter 21, it has been erroneously supposed has repealed the former penal statutes prohibitory of mixed marriages, solemnized by Roman Catholic clergymen. Unfortunately, it has done nothing of the kind. It only legalizes mixed marriages when the same are solemnized by Protestant clergymen.

The 12th section of that Catholic Relief Bill, 33 George III., chapter 21, provides that no Popish priest shall celebrate marriage between two Protestants, *or between a Papist and a person who has been a Protestant, within twelve months, under a fine of £500.*

The penalty for this offence, by the act 19th of George II., cap. 31, was death. But by some blunder or intentional fraud on the part of the framer of the act of 1793 (33rd of George III., chap. 21), the clause in the act 19th of George II., chap. 13, sec. 1, was left unrepealed by the act of 1793.

Parnell, referring to this anomaly in his History of the Penal Laws against Irish Catholics, published in 1808, observes—"If a Catholic clergyman marries a Protestant and a Catholic, the marriage is null and void, and the priest who celebrates the marriage between a Catholic and a Protestant is liable to suffer death."

But Brown, in his "History of the Penal Laws" (London, 1818), page 359, referring to this penalty, says—"Such at least is the language of the act of George II. By a clause, however, the 32nd George III., cap. 21, the person celebrating such marriage is liable to a penalty of £500. But as the former statute (19th of George II., cap. 19) is unrepealed to this day, it has been more than once decided by the late Lord Kilwarden and other Irish Judges, that it is still in force. Of the correctness of this opinion I believe there is some doubt, as the majority of our law authorities on the construction of Penal Statutes hold that the infliction of a lesser punishment is a virtual repeal of the heavier penalty."

A very partial Catholic Relief Act, 3rd and 4th of William IV., chap 4, repealed so much of the rigorous enactments against Roman Catholic Priests for solemnizing mixed marriages, as those of 6th of Anne, chap. 6, and 23rd of George II., chap. 21, which made it felony to celebrate such mixed marriages.

But to the present hour such is the state of the law relating to marriage in this country that it most effectually serves to protect vice, and to punish virtue and innocence. The law enables any libertine pretending to be a Roman Catholic, to contract a marriage with a Roman Catholic young lady—and when he has trepanned her into a marriage which she believes legal and he knows to be invalid, when all the objects he has had in view—namely, seduction, or possession of the woman's means, as well as person, allows him to come forward in a court of law—to swear he was a professing Protestant within a period of twelve months before the solemnization of that marriage, and the marriage is accordingly declared null and void.

The invalidated marriage of Major Yelverton with Miss Longworth is not the last practical comment on the iniqui-

tous Penal Statute which privileges debauchery, and gives full swing to the gratification of the passions of the seducer.

In November, 1865, and April, 1866, a very important judgment on a marriage case—The Queen *versus* Fannin—was argued before the twelve Irish judges.

On the last day of the hearing of this case, Mr. Justice O'Hagan said—

The case came before Court upon a question reserved by Mr. Justice Keogh, as to the conviction on a charge of bigamy of the prisoner Thomas Fannin, at the commission for the city of Dublin on the 28th of October last. The facts appeared to be these:—The prisoner was legally and validly married at St. Peter's Church, to Mary Stewart, who thereupon became, and now was, his wife, and subsequently he went through a ceremony of marriage with another woman, Catherine Brien, who was a Roman Catholic. That marriage was celebrated, according to the rites of the Roman Catholic church, by a Catholic priest. The prisoner professed himself a Roman Catholic—the person with whom he married believed him to be so. The ceremony had all the incidents of a regular and binding marriage, and would have operated effectually as such but that the prisoner was really a Protestant, or had so declared himself within twelve months before it took place. Therefore, the second marriage was rendered, by the 19th George II., cap. 13, sec. 1—one of the last lingering remnants of the penal code—"absolutely null and void to all intents and purposes," and it was contended, because it was a nullity, the prisoner committed no legal offence in perpetrating the fraud and inflicting the injury suffered by the woman whom he induced to believe herself his wife.

The majority of the judges, on the other hand, were of opinion the conviction was bad, consequently the judgment was reversed.

Thus a remnant of that iniquitous Penal Code, in this age of civilization and enlightenment, in this advanced period of the 19th century, is triumphantly appealed to, to legalize the ruin and seduction of an innocent woman, artfully deceived by a sacrilegious villain.

The preceding details of the latest result of the operation of one of the last Penal Laws, now in full force, to the great advantage of libertines in this Christian land have not been given without misgivings as to the fitness of them at such length in this introduction.

They have been inserted in it, however, with a view to the impression they are so well calculated to make, that the people of Ireland have had great cause for complaint and discontent with the legislation that has been at deadly war with their religion, and, indeed, until of late years, with all their interests—moral, intellectual, and material.

But this case of *The Queen versus Fannin* is important for the fact that it establishes, namely, that there is a penal law against Catholics (and it might be said with truth several penal laws) in force at the present time, which are a scandal and a disgrace to the civilization of a Christian country in this 19th century.

What Englishman of honest principle, manly feelings, and generous sentiments, can read this brief notice of Penal Laws, enacted not for the good government of our country, but for the degradation and debasement of millions of its people the great majority of its inhabitants—the Roman Catholics of Ireland, without taking their sufferings into account, as if they were his own, and asking himself these questions :—“ Had I been treated as those Irish Roman Catholics have been, how would I have borne it? Could I reverence the laws that sanctioned the barbarities of an unchristian policy? Could I feel any respect for the

power which administered them?" What would be the answer of Mr. Gladstone, or of John Stuart Mill, to those queries? The replies may be framed for them without the slightest danger of their repudiation.

All tyranny must be borne as long, as well, and as patiently as it can be borne.

For such laws as those of the Penal Code no reverence was deserved, ought to be expected, or could be sincerely felt. For the power that administered them no respect was due. Tyrannical laws, though submitted to for conscience sake, have no more claim to respect than the framers of them.

The wonder is not that the Irish people have been discontented—the only wonder is they are not more so, in the face of the Protestant ascendancy and the Protestant established church, now doing the work as far as they can which the repealed penal code has left unfinished, of bitter hate, and of insolent assumption, of rancorous animosity towards their Catholic fellow subjects.

The hypocrites who find fault with their complaints, who whine themselves continually about their Church and its prospects, who are eternally seeing danger to religion, and danger to the throne, as well as the altar, impending over them, when the temporalities of the establishment are called in question, are the real malcontents. All the revenues of the Church they revile they have got, and they are still greedy and ungrateful.

During the reigns of William, Anne, the first and second Georges, a sort of smothered war was carried on between the English Government and the Parliament of the English Pale in Ireland.

It went on acquiring additional elements of strife and bitterness to the middle of the 18th century; but especially

to the reign of George II., to the period of the commencement of which, the history of Irish literature is brought down in this volume.

With the preceding observations, this introduction to the first volume of "The History of Irish Periodical Literature" is brought to a close. The information that was essential to the formation of just ideas on the subject of the work could not easily be given in a smaller compass.

Perhaps Irish readers might dispense with it altogether—the writer is perfectly sure that English readers could not—and if the work answers the main object for which it was written and should succeed, it will be chiefly to English readers he will be indebted for that success.

The writer has not thought it was at all necessary, however, to increase the chance of such success, to pander to the prejudices of his readers—to conceal or understate truths that might be disagreeable to them. He believed he knew the character of English people of intelligence well, and produced an honest work, for the opinions and statements of facts contained in which, it was his desire to get a fair hearing in England.

A subject that is essentially a literary one can derive no advantage from being mixed up unnecessarily with politics or polemics. It will be the object of the author of this work to guard himself, with sedulous care, from falling into this mistake, for, in his opinion, literature is never turned to a worse account than when it is converted to the mere uses of polemical or political controversy.

In a work of this kind it is impossible to avoid reference to politics and polemics, when dealing with organs of public opinion on subjects that are political or polemical.

The main design of this work is purely and simply literary. The object and design of the author is, as much as possible,

to abstain from the introduction into it of politics and polemics. But however anxious he may be to do so, it is impossible for any person who may engage on the subject of this work to ignore facts which are in relation to matters of public controversy, or to affect to be unacquainted with them.

The progress of literature is so mixed up with that of civilization, and the interests of the latter are so interwoven with those of liberty—civil and religious—that the writer who deals with one subject, must of necessity take the other into consideration. It would be a folly to contrast the progress of periodical literature in Ireland with that of England, with any useful result, without reflecting on the political condition of the former country, and the fortunate circumstances of the latter.

The first volume of this work and the second will be devoted to the History of Irish Newspapers. The third and concluding volume will contain the History of Irish Magazines and Reviews, Periodical Essays, and Miscellanies of all kinds—Literary, Political, and Polemical.

An interval of two months will take place between the publication of the second and third volumes.

HISTORY
OF
IRISH PERIODICAL LITERATURE.



CHAPTER I.

Date of Introduction of Printing into various Cities and Principal Towns on the Continent and in England, and at a comparatively late period into Ireland—Antecedents and Origin of Irish Periodical Literature.

Precursors of Newspapers and Magazines—Periodicals partaking of the Character of each Class—News Letters, Intelligencers, Mercuries, Courants, Miscellanies, Medleys.

THE origin of printing in the principal cities and some of the most important towns of Europe, it is necessary, in treating of Irish Historical Literature, to have so much knowledge of at least as may enable us to compare with it the date of its introduction into Ireland—namely, into Dublin, Cork, Waterford, Kilkenny, and Limerick.

It is by no means essential to the subject that it should be encumbered with details of the progressive improvements made in the newly-discovered art, of the peculiar advantages or disadvantages of the several modes of printing devised or adopted, or with controversies respecting rival claims of discoverers, projectors, and improvers of plans of original inventors, or the merits of their several pretensions.

All that is necessary for the objects the author of this work has in view, is to place before his readers, in the most succinct and perspicuous manner he can, first the dates assigned on the best grounds to the earliest attempts at printing in Germany by means of

printing from engraved wooden blocks; and next, the date of the first practical application of the new discovery of printing with separate movable metallic type, to the purpose of multiplying copies of books, by the intervention of machinery. With this view the following table has been prepared from works of generally admitted authority on the subject of The Discovery of Printing.

ORIGIN OF PRINTING.—DATES OF INVENTION AND
IMPROVEMENTS IN VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

Haarlem. Costar used at Haarlem the Chinese way of stamping a whole page with a small block, about 1430.

Before 1440, he used single types of wood. The earliest works thus printed by him were a little book of eight pages, containing, An Alphabet, The Lord's Prayer, Three other Prayers, and some Tracts. He died in 1440.

Strasburg. Gutenberg, according to some, improved on Costar's plan, and by others was supposed to have conceived the idea of printing books from engraved wooden blocks, *à rebour en relief*, about A.D. 1436 or 1439.

Geinsfleisch, or Gutenberg the elder, who had got possession of Costar's Secret Art of Printing, is said to have carried it to Mayence, and there, in conjunction with Faust, carried on the business of printing, and a few years later they were joined by Gutenberg, who

quitted Strasburg, where he had lived from 1436 to 1444.

Mentel is said to have printed a book here in 1444.

The Biblia Germanica was printed here in 1466.

DATES OF INTRODUCTION OF PRINTING INTO VARIOUS COUNTRIES.

Mayence. Gutenberg, from the period of his establishment in this place, with the aid of his brother, set about the realization of an idea of his that wooden types should be superseded by cut metallic ones. 1444.

But while these metallic types were preparing, several small books were printed by the first process of wooden separate types, and also single wooden blocks, down to 1450.

But though Gutenberg carried the idea into execution, the merit of completing and perfecting that process of printing by cut metallic types was accorded to Schœffer, of inventing the matrix, for the purpose of having the letters singly cast instead of being cut.

Schœffer having communicated his project to Faust, and becoming associated with him, printed a Latin Bible, the first book ever produced by this process of printing, with cut metallic types, in 1450.

The partners quarrelled and separated, and a new partnership was entered into between Faust and Gutenberg in 1450.

The partnership was dissolved in 1455.

Gutenberg set up a rival printing establishment, and a work printed by him, *The Catholicon*, issued from his press in 1460.

(*The Catholicon* was printed with cut metallic types.)

In 1460 the use of printing was widely extended over Germany.

Augsburg. Books were first printed in 1466.

Rome. Gutenberg's discovery and improvements, carried to Rome, resulted in the printing of "*Ciceronis Epistolæ*," in 1466.

Cologne. Naucier and Ulric Zell printed the book, "*De Singularitate Clericorum*," 1467.

Reutlingen. *Biblia*, in fol. Printed, 1468.

Venice. *Ciceronis Epistolæ*, printed, 1469.

Foligni. *Leonardi Aretini Historia*, &c., 1470.

Paris. The art of printing introduced, 1470.

Nuremberg. Ditto Ditto 1470.

Milan. Ditto Ditto 1470.

Verona. Ditto Ditto 1470.

Placentia. Ditto Ditto 1470.

Bologna. Ditto Ditto 1471.

Treviso. Ditto Ditto 1471.

Naples. Ditto Ditto 1471.

Parma. Ditto Di to 1472.

Vienna. Ditto Ditto 1481.

Oxford. The art of printing introduced (on the authority of Antony Wood, Bagford, &c.), 1486.

London. According to Ames, Caxton "began printing in England" in 1474.*

Edinburgh. On the authority of Chalmers, a press was established here in 1507.

Dublin. (According to Archdeacon Cotton, Dr. Todd, Ruddiman, &c.) The first book printed in Ireland, issued from the press in the capital, The Book of Common Prayer, printed by H. Powell, Dublin, in 1551.

The resumé of the details thus briefly referred to is this:—

For Haarlem, Mentz, Strasburg, and Venice, the honour is claimed of the invention of printing by mechanical contrivance.

Costar, Faust, Gutenberg, Schœffer, and Mentilius are the principal competitors in whose behalf literary warfare has been waged in numberless treatises.

From a careful review of all the evidence adduced in this controversy, the honour of the origin of printing, successfully carried into effect, is given to the Gutenberg, sen., who printed and published two works in Mentz in 1444, printed with types.

In 1445, he admitted Faust and others, who furnished him with capital, as partners in his business, and about the same time a new partner was added to the firm, John Gutenberg, jun., of Strasburg.

* It is the custom to ascribe to Caxton the introduction of printing into England in the year 1471, and some writers even ascribe it to him at the earlier date of 1470. It is indisputable that Caxton was residing on the Continent in the latter part of 1470, and had then visited Cologne, with the view of discovering the improved methods of printing. The first book printed by him on the Continent, in the English language, was the "Recueil of the Histories of Troye." On the title-page of that book, it is stated that translation was finished at Cologne in September, 1471. It was not till 1474 Caxton set up his press in the Almonry, in Westminster.

The latter, it is quite certain, had been attempting, in Strasburg, to perfect the art of printing with block type, or rather to render it practicable, from the year 1436 to 1444.

In 1444, there is a record of his being employed with his brother in cutting metal types. But up to 1444, no book thus printed was put forth by him. .

“John Gutenberg has been justly acknowledged for centuries as the inventor of printing with moveable types, or, the Art of Typography. Various attempts to rob him of this honour have failed. The hollowness of an alleged tradition, the dubious statement of a chronicle, and some trifling and badly executed typographic tracts, are no evidence against the real documents existing for the invention at Mentz. The opponents of Gutenberg recognising this fact, brought forward, as the earliest production of the Haarlem press, undated xylographic prints and xylographic books (Block Books), and put them in the field against the well-known master-pieces of Typography printed at Mentz,—thus giving to xylography (Block-printing), though a forerunner of typography, an undue share in the glory of the invention of printing.

“Nevertheless, xylography, considered by itself, in its origin and development, has a high importance in the history of art and literature.

“Gutenberg’s immortal invention consists, as is well known, in his having first discovered the process of composing with single moveable letters or types, words,

lines, and whole pages, and printing them off by means of printing ink. This invention is therefore different from other modes of printing, and in its results, has proved its historical importance.

“The art of Engraving was first practised in Germany, and transplanted thence to Italy.

“The Block Books of the Middle Ages remind us forcibly of the pictures found in the tombs of the ancient Egyptians and of the paintings of the Mexicans before their conquest by the Spaniards.”*

For all practical purposes it may be stated, that from the year 1430 to 1450, various efforts were made by ingenious men in different countries, independently of one another, to discover means of multiplying productions that existed in manuscript, by the intervention of mechanical contrivances; and that from about the year 1450, books printed from separate movable letter types, set up in words, worked off in considerable impressions for sale, made their appearance in several places. Previously to that year, it is true, books were printed from engraved blocks of wood, after the manner of the Chinese.

Thus we find that the discovery of printing is claimed by Haarlem, Mayence, and Strasburg, and to each of these cities the merit is to be apportioned, in a qualified sense, as they made improvements on each other.

In the course of a few years the art of printing had arrived at such perfection that Gutenberg and Mentel, in

* The Gentleman's Magazine for Jan., 1794, Vol. lxi., p. 1.

1458, could strike off three hundred sheets daily; and in 1462, Faust and Schœffer, who, after their separation, had long successfully concealed their great improvements in the casting of metal type, in consequence of the sack-ing of Mayence, and the dispersion of their workmen in various countries, had the secrets of their mode of printing fully revealed, and the invention being thus divulged, came rapidly into use. From 1470 to 1553 it had come into use in France, Italy, Spain, Ger-many. In 1490 it reached Constantinople. It did not make its way into Russia until 1560, and speedily was repressed, and eventually suppressed there.

In England, the first book printed there made its appearance, as it is stated, in 1468, but in Ireland the first book printed there was in 1551, eighty-three years after the introduction of printing into England.

Mr. Charles Knight, in his work, "The Old Printer and the Modern Press" (Lon. 12mo. 1854), thus refers to the first, or rather supposed first, work which Caxton printed in England:

"The indications of the period at which Caxton first brought the art of printing into England are not very exact. Several of his books, supposed to have been among the earliest, are without date or place of impres-sion. The first in the title of which a date or place is mentioned is 'The Dictes and Sayinges of Philosophers,' translated by the Earl of Rivers from the French. This bears upon the title 'Emprynted by me, William Caxton,

at Westminster, the yere of our Lord M.CCCC.LXXVIJ.' Of 'The Game and Play of The Chesse,' Caxton printed two editions, which he translated from the French. The first was finished on the last day of March, 1474, and it is supposed to have been the first book which he printed in England. Bagford says, 'Caxton's first book in the Abbey was "The Game of Chess," a book in those times much in use with all sorts of people, and in all likelihood first desired by the abbot and the rest of his friends and masters.' "

A French work that has been cited in this notice, "*Histoire de l'Origine et Progrès de L'Imprimerie*" (La Haye, 4to., 1740), says, that the art of printing came into England in 1468, that a workman of Gutenberg's had been bribed to go to England, where he carried the art of printing, and printed there the first work that issued from the press. The date assigned to that work is that of the death of Gutenberg. London Caxton's "Game and Play of Chess" was printed 1474.

A Mr. Williams, in an excellent article in the "Gentleman's Magazine," on the invention of printing (Vol. lxiv, for 1794, part I., p. 43), states that printing was introduced into England by Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury, in 1459, and probably he was right as to the person, but wrong as to the date, which should have been 1468. The earliest printed book known to exist, and to have issued from the press in England, is a small volume, printed in Oxford, of forty-one leaves, in 4to., entitled, "Ex-

positio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum," and with this impress—"Explicit Expositio, &c. Impressa Oxoniæ, Et Finita, Anno Domini 1468. Die Decembris xvii."

The discovery of this volume in a public library at Cambridge, we are informed in the article "Printing," in the "Encyclopædia Britannica" (Fifth Ed., Edin., 4to., 1815), "robbed Caxton of a glory that he had long possessed, of being the originator of printing in this kingdom, and Oxford ever since has carried the honour of having the first press." All doubt, we are told, of the authenticity of this volume, the impress, and its date was said, subsequently to its discovery, to have been removed by finding a record in the Archives of Lambeth Palace, giving a detailed account of the printing of this volume. But the volume is no longer there or known now to exist.

Charles Knight, in his work, "The Old Printer and The Modern Press," Lon. 1854 (p. 88), impugns the claim set up for Oxford of the first book printed in England being produced there in 1468.

The writer of the excellent article on the Origin and Progress of Printing, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," gives an account of the controversy and the claim, especially set up for the introduction of printing in Oxford by a Hollander of the name of Frederick Corsells, or rather Corselles, who had been "drawn off" from his employer, John Gutenberg, when established at Haarlem by Caxton, and an agent of the then English sovereign,

Henry VI., at the instance of Thomas Bourchier, Archbishop of Canterbury. According to the account in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," this claim was first set up in a work on "The Original and Growth of Printing," &c. By Richard Atkyns, Esq. Printed by authority of Mr. Secretary Morrice, by John Streater, in 4to. 1664.

Corselles, according to Atkyns, being "drawn off" and with much difficulty brought to England, the Archbishop, who had been Chancellor of the University of Oxford, determined, for greater security, to have the first attempt at printing made in Oxford, so that printing was first set up there, according to Atkyns, before there was any printing press or printer in France, Spain, or Italy, and some five or six years before Caxton printed his first book in London. Dr. Middleton was the first to oppose this claim, and to refute Atkyns' statement respecting Corselles. His objections to it were—

1st. The silence of Caxton, in any of the works printed by him, on the subject.

2nd. The fact of Caxton remaining on the Continent several years after the alleged mission of Caxton and Turnour, and the drawing off of the journeyman printer of Gutenberg.

3rd. A record said to have been discovered by Atkyns in Lambeth, confirmatory of his statement, being never heard of before the publication of Atkyns' work, and no such record existing there at the date of Dr. Middleton's researches.

4th. Atkyns might be the inventor of the Lambeth document he refers to in his work, as he had an interest in imposing on the English court, inasmuch as he stated on the title-page of his work it was demonstrated therein that "Printing Appertaineth to the Royal Prerogative, and is a flower of the Crown of England."

But the act would be too daring to forge a record to be laid before the King and Council, and which could easily be proved to be a forgery. He says he received the particulars of this record from a person of honour, who had been keeper of the Lambeth Library.

John Bagford, a man of learning and integrity, who was born in 1651, and might have known Atkyns, who died in 1677, blames those who doubted Atkyns' account of the Lambeth record; and states, moreover, that he knew Sir John Birkenhead to have had an authentic copy of that record, procured for the purpose of preparing a bill in relation to printing.

And further, Shakspeare, who was born in 1564, and died in 1617, in Part II. of Henry VI., act iv., scene 7, puts the following words, addressed to Lord Treasurer Say, into the mouth of John Cade: "Thou hast most traitoriously corrupted the youth of this realm in creating a grammar-school, and whereas before, our forefathers had no other book but the score and the tally, thou hast caused printing to be used, and contrary to the King, his crown, and dignity, thou hast built a paper mill."

Now Stow, in his "Annals," ascribes the introduction of printing into England in the year 1471, to Caxton.

Henry VI. began to reign in 1422, and was deposed in 1460, about eight years before the book ascribed to Corselles was printed in Oxford. The latter date is inconvenient to those who have founded an argument on the allusion of Shakspeare to the use of printing in England in the reign of Henry VI.

Dr. Johnson very properly observes that Shakspeare has been a *little too early* with his reference to the origin of printing in Oxford, in 1468. Perhaps the anachronism was intended to make Cade's ignorance obvious and ridiculous.

To these several objections of Dr. Middleton and others it is answered: 1st. Although Caxton makes no mention of his expedition in Holland in quest of a printer, no more is to be inferred from his silence, than from the omission of any mention of his bringing the art into England. 2nd. Caxton tells us in his "History of Troye," he began that translation in March, 1468, in Bruges, proceeded with it in Ghent, and finished it at Cologne, in 1471. He was thirty years on the Continent, chiefly in Holland, and had lived in the Court of Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV. Caxton was an assistant with Turnour in getting off Corselles, but it is not alleged Corselles came with him to England. And, moreover, that Corselles had only brought over the art of printing at Haarlem,

which was known at the period of his abandoning his employers there, which was that of "printing from wooden separate types, having the face of the letter cut upon them."

But the art of casting movable metallic types not being then discovered, Caxton, who remained living in Holland years after Corselles's departure for England, had learned in the interim, and brought over with him to England, in 1471.

And after all the cavil against the existence of a book printed in Oxford so early as 1468, by a German named Corselles, the fact is not disputed that a book was printed in Oxford which bore the following title and impress: "*Expositio Sancti Jeronimi in Simbolum Apostolorum, ad Papam Laurentiam,*" and at the end—"Explicit Expositio, &c. Impressa et Finita, Anno Domini M.CCCC.LXVIII." But those who argue against the book being printed in 1468, confine their objection mainly to the date, on the ground of their being a typographical mistake in the printing of the date and that by an accidental omission of the letter X, representing the figure 10, that the date, which should have been 1478, has been printed 1468. To this objection it is replied that, "without very strong and cogent reasons we should not venture to set aside the authority of a plain date; and although, from 1468 to 1471, no other book, except the one alleged to have been printed at Oxford by Corselles is known to have issued from the press at Oxford, and it is not to

be imagined that a press, established with so much pains and expence, could be suffered to remain so long idle and useless." Yet this is no argument against the particular named work having been printed in 1468. In the intervening years between that date and 1471, Corselles may have printed several books as small in size, or even smaller, than the "Expositio," printed in 1468, which extended only to forty-one leaves in 4to., and those books may have been lost. Or supposing there were none printed by him in that interval, he might have died, or quarrelled with his employers, and returned to Germany; or, as the Civil Wars broke out in 1469, this foreign printer might have taken flight, or been obliged to abandon his business during the existence of these wars, and have carried his types elsewhere.

After a rigorous examination of the several claims of Caxton and Corselles respectively, to the first introduction of the art of printing into England, made with an amount of critical acumen that would be worthy of Bayle, the writer of the article on the history of early printing in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," terminates the controversy in these words: "The fact, however, against which Dr. Middleton contends (the printing of a book in Oxford, in the year 1468), but which it seems impossible to overturn, does by no means derogate from the honour of Caxton, who, as has been shown, was the first person in England that practised the art of printing *with fusile types*, and, conse-

quently, the first who brought it to perfection, whereas Corselles printed with separate cut types in wood, being the only method which he had learned in Haarlem."

We are informed in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," that William Caxton, during many years' residence in Holland, Flanders, and Germany, engaged in mercantile affairs, "contrived to make himself acquainted with all the methods and processes of the new art of printing, and by the encouragement of the great, and particularly of the Abbot of Westminster, first set up a press in that abbey, and began to print books soon after the year 1471."

But then the writer seems not to have been aware that the first edition of the "History of Troye" was printed, not in England, but Cologne, and "The Game of Chess" likewise. A writer in "The Gentleman's Magazine" for September, 1855, of an excellent article on this subject, says:—

"The history of the 'Recueil' is briefly this. It was 'composed and drawen out of diverse bookes of Latyn in to Frensshe,' by Raoul le Fevre, priest, and chaplain to Philip duke of Burgundy, in the year 1464; and this French book was printed, as already stated; and it was 'drawen out of Frensshe in to Englysshe by William Caxton mercer of the cyte of London, at the commaundement of the righte mighty and vertuouse Pryncesse his redoubted lady Margaret duchesse of Burgoyne, &c. which said translacion and werke was begonne in Brugis in the countre of Flaunders,' the

first day of March, 1468, and 'ended and fynysshid in the holy cyte of Colen' the 19th Sept., 1471.

"At Cologne also Caxton is said to have printed the work of his countryman Bartholomew de Glanville, *De Proprietatibus Rerum*; and there also he produced the first edition of *The Game of Chess*. This work and the French and English editions of the *Recueil* are in the same type; and which may therefore be called Caxton's Cologne type, or perhaps the type in which *others printed for him* at Cologne.

"It was in the year 1474 (as commemorated in this device) that William Caxton first brought into this country some workmen and probably some materials for printing, and set up his press within the almonry of the abbey of Westminster. Among his earliest works were doubtless books of devotion, which were printed without dates, and of which scarcely any relics have been preserved."

In 1474 the first book printed in London is said to have issued from Caxton's Press. Caxton died in 1491; in the interval of seventeen years, between 1474 and 1491, the date of his death, sixty-five works, original or translated, are said to have been printed by him. The edition of "*The Game of Chess*" that was printed in England bore this title: "*The Game and Playe of the Chesse translated out of the French, fynysshed the last day of March, 1474.*"

PRINTING OF THE BIBLE.

The first bible ever printed was produced at Mayence, by Gutenberg, aided by Faust, or Fust, in 1450. It was printed with *large cut metal types*.

In the admirable article on the Origin and Progress of Printing, in the "Encyclopædia Britannica," it is stated that—"The earliest edition of the whole Bible was, strictly speaking, the Complutensian Polyglott of Cardinal Zimenes; but as that edition, though finished in 1517, was not published till 1522, the Venetian Septuagint of 1518, may, probably, be called the first edition of the whole of the Greek Bible; Erasmus having published the New Testament only at Basil, in 1516."

The first English version of the whole Bible is claimed for Wycliffe, made between 1381 and 1384, the latter date being that of his death. In 1525 or 1526, Tyndale printed—in Germany—his "Translation of the New Testament" from the Greek. In the course of nearly a century and a half, in the changes which the English language had undergone, Wycliffe's Bible having become unreadable, Myles Coverdale, in 1535, printed and published—in England—the whole Bible, translated from the Hebrew and the Greek.

The Book of Common Prayer, compiled by Cranmer, in virtue of an English Act of Parliament passed in 1548, has been used in all Protestant churches in England from that date.

The Bible which is called Cranmer's Bible, from some share of his in the preparation of it for the press, was printed and published in London in 1540.

Several other editions of the Bible in English were printed in England between 1539 and 1603; but it was not till 174 years after the first Bible in the English language was printed in London that the first Protestant version of the scriptures in English was printed in Ireland, in 1714.

The fact is, it was not with the Bible or its teaching that the gentry and the soldiers of the Pale occupied their thoughts. Religion was a cry, indeed, at all periods in the Pale; but its benign influences, it is to be feared, were little felt in people's hearts.

Grafton and Whitchurch printed the Bible in English in London, 1539, 1540, 1541.

John Daye printed the first part of the Bible, called the five books of Moses, in London in 1544, in 2mo.

The whole Bible, that is, the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testaments, faithfully translated into English by Miles Coverdale, newly overseen and corrected—by royal license—and printed for A. Hester, London, 4to., 1550. (See Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, Lon., 4to., 1749, p. 215.)

Grafton printed the Bible in English, London, 4to., 1553. (*Ib.* p. 200.) In 1559, he printed, in London, the Book of Common Prayer, and Administration of the Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England. This book had been previously printed by Whitchurch, in London, in 1552

In 1566 Grafton printed the Bible in England, in 8vo.

In 1568, 1569, 1572, and 1584, Richard Jugge printed, in London, editions of the Bible in folio and 4to.

In 1583 Christopher and Robert Barker printed the Bible, in London, in folio; and from 1583 to 1594, five editions of the New Testament in English.

In 1603 Robert Barker, printer to the Queen's Most Excellent Majestie, printed, in London, the Bible in 4to., in Gothic characters. In this edition occurs the singular reading of a passage in verse 7, chap. iii. of Genesis, which has given this edition the name of "The Breeches Bible."

The greatest benefit that can be ascribed to the Art of Printing is, that it has multiplied to an astounding degree copies of the Sacred Writings.

The heaviest charge that ever has been brought against the Art of Printing is, that it has made the world acquainted with myriads of bad books, of which they would have remained in ignorance if this Art had remained unknown; and assuredly this charge is more applicable to the consequences of printing in our own times than to those at any previous period. Dr. Knox, in reference to the Art of Printing, says: "But, however we may felicitate mankind on the invention, there are, perhaps, those who wish that, together with its compatriot art of manufacturing gunpowder, it had never been brought to light. Of its effects on litera-

ture they say that it has increased the number of books till they distract rather than improve the mind; and of its malignant influence on morals, they complain that it has often introduced a false refinement incompatible with the simplicity of primitive piety and genuine virtue."

"With respect to its literary ill-consequences it may be said, that though it produces to the world an infinite number of worthless publications, yet, true wit and fine composition will still retain their value, and it will be an easy task for critical discernment to select these from the surrounding mass of absurdity; and though, with respect to its moral effects, a regard to truth extorts the confession that it has diffused immorality and irreligion, divulged with cruel impertinence the secrets of private life, and spread the tale of scandal through an empire; yet, these are evils which will either shrink away unobserved in the triumphs of time and truth over falsehood, or which may, at any time, be suppressed by legislative interposition."

The advantages of periodicals, such as newspapers, literary and political miscellanies, and magazines of all kinds, are glanced at in an article of Dr. Johnson on the "*Acta Diurna* of the Romans," published in "*The Gentleman's Magazine*." *

"Everybody must allow that our Newspapers (and the other Collections of Intelligence periodically published) by the materials they afford for discourse and

* *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1740, Vol. x., preface.

speculation, contribute very much to the emolument of society; their cheapness brings them into universal use; their variety adapts them to every one's taste; the scholar instructs himself with advice from the literary world; the soldier makes a campaign in safety, and censures the conduct of generals without fear of being punished for mutiny; the politician, inspired by the fumes of the coffee-pot, unravels the knotty intrigues of ministers; the industrious merchant observes the course of trade and navigation; and the honest shop-keeper nods over the account of a robbery and the prices of goods till his pipe goes out."

A writer in the "Gentleman's Magazine" (April, 1859), in reference to the best collection existing of early English periodicals in the British Museum Library, observes: "It is from the columns of newspapers that the causes, as well as the effects, of great political events, and the actions of those who figured in them, are to be derived; and in their absence that our early historians derived their materials from the MS. journals, diaries, and chronicles of such as had the knowledge and industry to record the transactions of the passing time.

"It is only in that unique collection, extending from 1640 to 1660, and known as 'The King's Pamphlets,' that the *minute* history of that memorable period can be found, and they have furnished the staple of nearly all that has been written on it during the last twenty years.

The line of demarcation between our early newspapers and literary miscellanies, is not to be drawn very easily. All the early newspapers are generally in small square quarto form—such as the *Gazettes*, *Diurnals*, and *Mercuries* that constitute the first newspapers of the later part of the 17th century—resembling a good deal the literary periodicals called *Miscellanies*, *Monitors*, *Medlers*, *Pamphlets*, and other collections of *Essays*, which at the beginning of the 19th century were the precursors of the magazines of our times. The earliest “*Mercuries*” are spoken of as *Pamphlets of News*.

Spelman, in his “*Glossarium Archæologicum*,” does not refer to the word *Pamphlet* in any forming of spelling.

Johnson derives it from the French *Par un filet*, “whence,” he says, “this word is written anciently and by Caxton—*Paunflet*, a small book; properly a book sold unbound and only stitched.”

“Canst thou with deep, premeditated lines,
With written *pamphlets* studiously devised.”

SHAKESPEAR.

“His arguments prevail
Till power, discharging all his stormy bags,
Flutters his feeble pamphlet into rags.”

SWIFT.

“With great injustice I have been pelted by pamphleteers.”

SWIFT.

Pinkerton says: “Of the etymon of pamphlet, I know nothing; but that the word is far more ancient than is commonly believed, take the following proof from the celebrated ‘*Philobiblion*,’ ascribed to Richard de Bure,

Bishop of Durham, but written by Robert Holkot, at his desire, as Fabricius says, about the year 1344." ("Fabric. Bibl. Medii Œvi." Vol. i., p. 842.)

The etymon of pamphlet is to be found in Chap. iv. of Holkot's work, "Philobiblion:" "Sed revera libros non *libras* maluimus, codicesque plus dileximus quam *Florenas*, ac *Panfletos* Exiguos, phaleratis prætulimus palescedis."

A remarkable work of this author, entitled, "Super Librum Sapientiæ," (fol. Basil. 1506, Auctor Robertus Holkot, Ord. Predicatorum Fratrum), exists in the Diocesan Library, Cashel.

Disraeli, in his "Curiosities of Literature,"* in the chapter on Pamphlets, refers to Myles Davis's "Icon Libellarum," or a critical History of Pamphlets, who says: "From pamphlets may be learned the genius of the age, the debates of the learned, the follies of the ignorant, the *bevvues* of governments, and the mistakes of courtiers." He notices the earliest Arian and Roman Catholic Pamphlets, or rather *Libelli*, little books as he distinguishes them. He speaks of "English sticthed Sermons," as "the most edifying, useful, and instructive of all modern pamphlets." He enters on the History of Pamphlets, branching out into four different etymologies. He says: "However foreign the word *Pamphlet* may appear, it is a genuine English word, rarely known or adopted in any other language; its

* *Curios. of Liter.* Edited by his Son. In 3 Vols., post 8vo. Lon. 1858. Vol. i., p. 845.

pedigree cannot well be traced higher than the latter end of Queen Elizabeth's reign. In its first state, wretched must have been its appearance, since the great linguist, John Minshew, in his "Guide into Tongues," printed in 1617, gives it the most miserable character, in which any *Libel* can be capable. Mr. Minshew says, and his words were quoted by Lord Chief Justice Holt, "a pamphlet, that is *Opusculorum Stolidorum*, the diminutive performance of fools,—from two Greek words, signifying *all* and *fill*, to wit—I fill all places." Another derivation he alludes to is from *Pam*, the knave of trumps in the game of loo. Another derivation is mentioned from the Greek words signifying *all* and *I love*, applied to a thing esteemed his all. "This word," says Disraeli, "is as old as Lydgate's time. Among his works, quoted by Warton, is a poem 'translated from a *Pamflete* in Frenshe.'"

In the "Glassographic, or Dictionary, interpreting of Whatsoever Language now used in our Refined English Tongue" (by T. B., of the Inner Temple, Barrister, London, 1661),—we find the word *Pamphilt*, and the following meaning assigned to it—"A kind of great boat in Italy, having one hundred and forty or one hundred and sixty oars of a side."

Thus, in 1661, the Italian word *Pamphilt* had been introduced into the English language, and was probably first applied to large luggers that conveyed goods and stores of various kinds, and eventually was given to vehicles of miscellaneous literary information.

There is no such word as *Pamphilt*, I may observe, in the great Italian Dictionary, "Vocabolario Degli Accademici Della Crusca."

Johnson derives the word Magazine from the Arabic word *Machsan*, a treasure.* "1. A storehouse, commonly an arsenal, or repository, of provisions. 2. Of late this word has signified a miscellaneous pamphlet, from a periodical miscellany, called 'The Gentleman's Magazine,' and published under the name of *Sylvanus Urban*, by Edward Cave."

So the word magazine was not applied to a periodical literary miscellany prior to 1732, the date of the origin of "The Gentleman's Magazine." It was previously, however, applied by Locke to the mind of a person of varied information,—“His head was so well stored a magazine, that nothing could be proposed he was not master of.”

Miscellanies, or collections of articles, literary, critical, biographical, political, or consisting of “a mass formed out of various subjects,” were the precursors of magazines.

The title of “Mercuries,” in newspaper parlance, is of French origin.

“The Mercure Francais,” existed in Paris from 1613 to 1647. “The Mercure Suisse,” existed in Paris from 1643. The introduction of the title into England dates from about 1643.

* English Dictionary, Fourth Ed., Revised by the Author, 4to., Vol. ii. 1775.

Johnson's definition of the word *News* is the following: "A noun substantive, without the singular, unless it be considered as singular. Milton has joined it with a singular verb (From 'New Nouvelles,' Fr.)

1. Fresh account of anything. 2. Something not heard before. 3. Papers which give an account of the transactions of the present time."

A *Newsmonger* is defined by Johnson—"One that deals in news; one whose employment is to hear and tell news."

Addison, in the "Spectator," says of collectors of current rumours and reports: "They have *news* gatherers and intelligencers distributed into their several walks, who bring in their several quotas, and make them acquainted with the discourse of the whole kingdom."

Johnson's derivation of the word *Journal*: "From *dies* comes *diurnus*; from *diurnus*, the Italian *giorna*, a day; from *giorna*, *giornale*, which has its derivative in 'journal.'"

Murphy, in his "Translation of Tacitus," in a note to the following passage, "*Diurna Populi Romani per Provincias per exercitus curatiis leguntur, quam ut non noscetur quid Thræsea fecerit,*" says, "It is to be lamented that none of these Diurnals, or newspapers," as he calls them, "had been preserved, as they would cast great light upon the private life and manners of the Romans."

With the Long Parliament originated appeals to the people, by accounts of their proceedings. These appeared periodically, from the first of them, called "Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament," November 3rd, 1641, to the Restoration.

A very remarkable article on the subject of these Diurnals of ancient Rome, written by Dr. Johnson, is to be found in Vol. X. of "The Gentleman's Magazine," for 1740, forming the preface to that volume. The reader will find it inserted in the Appendix to this work.

Pinkerton, in his "Walponiana," quotes a letter of Horace Walpole, dated September 18th, 1786, in which we find the following account of the origin of newspapers: "Renaudot, a physician, first published at Paris, in 1631, a *Gazette*, so called from *gazetto*, a coin of Venice, paid for the reading of manuscript news. In more early times our chief nobility had correspondents abroad on purpose to write what were called "Letters of News."

The *Gazette*, first published in Venice in 1536, was in manuscript. It was circulated in manuscript long after the invention of printing—to the close of the 16th century, as appears from a collection of those *Gazettes* in the Magliabechian Library in Florence.*

From the latter part of the 16th century to about the year 1620, the earliest printed newspapers (precursors

* Chalmers' "Life of Raddiman," p. 144.

of newspapers) small quarto size, printed on one side or both sides of a page, or on four pages, containing intelligence of public interest, were variously designated "Bookes of Newes," "Ballads of Newes," "Newe Newes," "Wonderful News," "Bloody Newes out of Ireland," "Woful Newes from the West Partes of England," &c., "Lamentable Newes out of Monmouthshire," "Strange Newes from Lancaster," "Warranted Tidings from Ireland," "Pamphlets of Newes," &c.

Most of the preceding publications were not periodical; they were occasional records of rumours of stirring events, battles, murders, Popish Plots and "Damnable Doctrines of Papists," and Doings in Rome. Some of them were weekly publications.

"Pamphlets of Newes," is one of the designations of the precursors of the genuine newspaper of our times. But that strange term "Pamphlet" existed long before the application of it to early English "Newes Letters," or any reference to them in literary cotemporaneous works.

Burton says, in his "Anatomy of Melancholy," in 1614, "If any read now a-days, it is a play-book, or *pamphlet of newes*."

"Those 'Mercuries' (says Andrews) which emanated from authority were printed in the camps of the respective armies. The newspaper press had become peripatetic, and sent forth its intelligence from headquarters, now at Oxford and next week at Worcester. Thus King Charles carried Robert Barker, as his News

Printer, up as far as Newcastle in 1639, and in 1652 Christopher Higgins accompanied Cromwell in his capacity to Leith."

"The Spie communicating Intelligence from Oxford," which was commenced in January, 1643-4, was written by Durant Hotham.

The freedom of the "Newes" printing press in 1641, resulted in productions indicative of licentiousness beyond all bounds of decency, common sense, religion, or rational considerations.

The Mercuries purported to bring their intelligence from heaven, from hell, from the sun, moon, and stars, from the court and the Antipodes. The reign of the Mercuries was from 1641 (the date of the abolition of the Star Chamber) to 1680. Fanaticism, profanity, and absurdity inspired the writers of a very considerable portion of them, and suggested the topics that were dealt with in them. The titles alone of a great number of them cited by Andrews, furnish evidence enough of their phrenzied or impious character.

"Mercurius Propheticus; or, a Collection of some old Predictions. Oh! may they only prove but empty fictions."

"Mercurius Radamanthus, the Chief Judge of Hell; his Circuits through all the Courts of Law in England."

"A Trance; or, News from Hell brought fresh to Town, by Mercurius Acheronticus," 1648.

"Newes, true Newes, laudable Newes, Citie Newes, Countrie Newes, the World is Mad or is it a Mad World,

my Masters, especially now when, in the Antipodes, these things are come to passe."

"Newes from Hell and Rome, and the Innes of Court."

"Mercurius Diabolicus; or, Hell's Intelligencer."

"Mercurius Mercuriorum Stultissimus."

"Mercurius Britannicus again Alive."

"Mercurius Anti-Mercurius."

"Martin Nonsense, his Collections."

"Mercurius Insanus Insanissimus."

"The Flying Eagle."

"Mercurius Nullus."

"The Marine Mercurie."

"A Preter-pluperfect Spick-and-span new Nocturnal; or Mercurie's Weekly Night Newes."

"A Wonder! A Mercurie without a Lye in his Mouth," 4to.

"Great Britain's Paine full Messenger."

"The Faithful Scout."

"Mercurius Democritus; or, a Nocturnal. Communicating wonderful News from the World in the Moon."

"Mercurius Heraclitus; or, the Weeping Philosopher."

"Mercurius Mastix; faithfully lashing all Scouts, Mercuries, Posts, Spyes, and others."

"The Laughing Mercury; or, True and Perfect News from the Antipodes," &c., &c., &c.

The first of any regular series of newspapers, preserved in the British Museum, is dated 23rd May, 1622.

"The Weekly Newes" ceased in 1641.

A little later Nathaniel Butler, a London Printer, published "Newes from most parts of Christendom."

In 1630 Butler published a half-yearly book of intelligence, entitled "German Intelligencer," compiled from "The Weekly Currantoes," by W. Watts, of Cams College.

The last known publication of news by Butler, was in 1641, a small 4to paper, entitled "Warranted tidings from Ireland."

In the Thorpe collection of rare ancient pamphlets relating to Ireland, we find one of the *Mercuries*, of 14 pages, of 1644, see vol. 3, 1642-1645 small 4to (size, 6½ inches long by 5 inches broad), entitled :—"Mercurius Hibernicus, or, A Discourse of the Late Insurrection in Ireland, displaying the true course of it; the course that was taken to suppress it; the reasons that drew on a cessation of arms; also touching those Auxiliaries which are transported thence to serve in the present war. Patremque Mercurium blandæ quis negat esse Lyæ. Printed at Bristol, 1644."

In 1642 the Clerk of the Parliament was vested with the power of licensing, and a periodical of that time "True Diurnal of Parliamentary Intelligence," bears the signature of the Censor.

In 1645 "The Kingdom's Weekly Post," appears according to order.

1647 (September 30) an ordinance passed the House of Lords, denouncing all persons guilty of publishing any book, or paper of news, except the same be licensed

by both, or either houses of parliament, and signed with the name of author and printer thereof, and prohibiting the same under penalty of fine and imprisonment, breaking up of the type and printing material of the printer, of whipping of the hawker and vendor of their papers.

In the latter years of the protectorate, the government had recourse to a semi-official newspaper organ, to counteract the turbulent trash of the *Mercuries*.

A work of some merit, entitled "The Newspaper Press of the Present Day; its birth and growth throughout the United Kingdom and British Isles," octavo, published by Saunders and Otley, London, 1860, summarizes the information respecting the origin of newspapers in these terms:—"The first newspaper of any regular series purports to have been weekly, but there seems to have been intervals of many weeks between each publication; at length the appearance of the weekly sheet became more regular, but these *hebdomadals* seem to have encountered great hostility from many quarters. From 1628 to 1665 upwards of 350 news books and pamphlets of news appeared. The affairs of each town, or war, were presented in the weekly newspaper. The first publication of the proceedings in parliament appear to have taken place in 1641."

"During the eventful period of the Civil War both parties availed themselves largely of these publications (the '*Mercuries*') as the mode of communicating their successes and promoting their views."

"Those which emanated from authority were printed in the camps of the respective armies. The newspaper press had become peripatetic, and sent forth its intelligence from head-quarters, now at Oxford, and next week at Worcester."

THE PUBLIC INTELLIGENCER.

Established and Published by Sir Roger L'Estrange, London.

1663—1665.

This Journal at its start was published weekly, the proprietor prudently stating in the first page the publication would be "once a week for the present." L'Estrange continued his Journal till the 19th of January, 1665, when a newspaper connected with the court was suggested in high quarters, and accordingly, on the 19th of January, 1665, the first number of the "Oxford Gazette," made its appearance.

The author of "The Newspaper Press, of the Present Day," says (perhaps not accurately):

"Here *our* newspaper history begins. Our theme is THE NEWSPAPER PRESS EXTANT; and the "London Gazette," being the progenitor of that press, comes first into our list. Mr. Andrews gives the following account of its birth: 'The panic of the plague,' he says, 'had driven the Court from London, and, itself so pure, in its flight from corruption it sought safety in its "ancient and loyal city" of Oxford. Hence, then, issued the first number of the new Government "Gazette," being a folio half sheet, printed at Oxon by Leonard Litchfield, and published twice a week 'by authority;' an edition, in two small folio pages, was reprinted in

London for the use of some merchants and gentlemen who desired the same. On the return of the Court to London, the "Gazette" was transferred to the capital, and on the 5th of February, 1666, came out as the London Gazette. The Government organ was at once placed under the control of Sir Joseph Williamson, the Under-Secretary of State, who procured for himself the writing of it, although he fulfilled his office by deputy, the paper being written by Sir Charles Perrot, A.M., of Oriel College, for the first five years of its existence. And thus and then was the London Gazette established."^o

Sir Roger L'Estrange, in the prospectus of "The Intelligencer," in 1663, makes mention of the mode of distributing the Mercuries and newspapers of his time.

"The way as to the sale that has been found most beneficial to the master of the book has been to cry and expose it about the streets by Mercuries and hawkers; but whether they may be so advisable in some other respects, may be a question, for, under countenance of that employment is carried on the private trade of treasonous and seditious libels; nor, effectually, has anything been dispersed against either Church or State without the aid and privity of this sort of people; wherefore, without ample assurance and security against this inconvenience, I shall adventure to steer another course."

* The Newspaper Press of the present day. Saunders and Otley, Lon.
8vo. 1860. Page 9.

In reference to the origin of the licensing of newspapers, we are told by the author of "The Newspaper Press of the present day; its birth and growth throughout the United Kingdom and British Islands from 1665:"

"The licensing system—that odious old fetter of the press—commenced in 1637. The '*severe* Licensing Act,' as it has been called, was passed in 1662; and in the following year Sir Roger L'Estrange was appointed licenser, and created, under letters patent, newspaper monopolist, the 'sole privilege' being accorded to him 'of writing, printing, and publishing all narratives, advertisements, Mercuries, Intelligencers, Diurnals, and other books of public intelligence. Of this privilege Sir Roger lost no time in availing himself, by bringing out several newspapers of his own and putting all others to flight. He very candidly declared, in one of his prospectuses, that a public Mercury should never have his vote, because, he said, 'I think it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatistical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colorable right and license to be meddling with the government.' But he thought that a paper of the 'quality' which he proceeded to describe might be 'both safe and expedient'; 'truly,' he adds, 'if I should say necessary, perhaps the case would bear it.' "

The pestilent epidemic of news letter diffusion of public opinion, that commenced in the reign of the

Virgin Queen, at various times it has been attempted to stay and eventually to *stamp* out.

The rigour of the censorship as it existed in the time of Elizabeth, was surpassed by that in the reign of Charles the 2nd. For some years all the efforts of the Restoration to put down "the newspaper nuisance," proved ineffectual, as they had done in the time of the Protectorate. The truculent Judges, Scroggs and Jeffries, in vain poured out on the heads of unfortunate printers and publishers of newspapers all the vials of judicial wrath and vengeance. One Mercury was no sooner suppressed than another started up.

In the early part of 1680, three scurrilous Journals were crushed, "Jesuita Vapulaus;" "News from the Land of Chivalry;" and "Mercurius Infernus; or news from the other world," &c. Various other papers were prosecuted and suppressed in 1681 and 1682.

Then a viler class of periodicals started up, that would now be called "Sensational Journals." In fact the craving for news of any kind that was exciting, became as fierce as it had been in the time of the commonwealth.

At the restoration, the government set up a semi-official organ called "The Kingdom's Intelligencer of the affairs in Scotland, England, and Ireland, together with Foreign Intelligence, to prevent alarms." By authority, No. 1, January 7th, 1661.

In August, 1663, Sir Roger L'Estrange was appointed licenser by patent, giving him, at the same

time, all the sole privilege of writing, printing, and publishing all narratives, advertisements, Mercuries, Intelligencers, Diurnals, and other books of public intelligence.*

Another periodical, "The Public Intelligencer," in virtue of the extraordinary privilege conferred on Sir Roger L'Estrange, a little later made its appearance, and "The News," another edition of the same paper with a different name was published on another day in the same week. In the prospectus of "The Intelligencer," the editor speaks apparently in his capacity of licenser:—

"As to the point of printed intelligence, I do declare myself (as I hope I may in a matter left so absolutely indifferent, whether any or none), that, supposing the press in order, the people in their right wits, and news or no news to be the question, a public *Mercury* should never have my vote; because I think it makes the multitude too familiar with the actions and counsels of their superiors, too pragmatistical and censorious, and gives them not only an itch, but a kind of colourable right and licence to be meddling with the Government. All which (supposing as before supposed), does not yet hinder but that, in this juncture, a paper of that quality may be both safe and expedient; truly if I should say necessary, perhaps the case would bear it; for certainly there is not anything which at this instant more imports His Majesty's service and the public than to redeem the vulgar

* Bagford's Collections in Harleian MSS. 5-910. Vol. ii.

from their former mistakes and delusions, and to preserve them from the like for the time to come; to both which purposes, the prudent management of a *Gazette* may contribute in a very high degree; for, besides that it is everybody's money, and, in truth, a great part of most men's study and business, it is none of the worst ways of address to the genius and humour of the common people, whose affections are much more capable of being tuned and wrought upon by convenient hints and touches, in the shape and air of a pamphlet, than by the strongest reason and best notions imaginable, under any other and more sober form whatsoever."

L'Estrange continued his "Intelligencer" till January, 1665, when the Court had determined on setting up another, and, apparently, more confidential organ of its views, which eventually appeared on the 13th of November, 1664, with the novel title of "The Oxford Gazette." This was the first English periodical that was designated *Gazette*. The Court at the time of the appearance of this journal, being at Oxford, the new Government journal was printed there, and published twice a week "by authority." On the return of the Court to London, the "Gazette" was transferred to the capital, and on February 5th, 1666, appeared there as "The London Gazette," and was at once placed under the control of an under secretary of state.

The early numbers of "The London Gazette" consist of two pages, of two columns each. Their contents are chiefly brief notices of foreign occurrences of state, ordinances and proclamations, and shipping intelligence.

"The London Gazette" was an official descendant of the libertine "Weekly Newes" and the "Mercuries" of an earlier date. The licensing of newspapers gradually led to the publication of Government journals, one of the most reputable of which was "The London Gazette."

The efforts at suppression of papers obnoxious to the Government had been tried and had failed, and these efforts had emanated from the Church. In July, 1637, Archbishop Laud had procured a decree, ordaining that the number of printers should be restricted to twenty, and that any person found guilty of printing without a licence should be imprisoned, set in the pillory, and whipped.

But long previously, so early as the reigns of Henry VIII. and Elizabeth, references are found to a censorship of the press, and in the reign of the latter especially, of very vigorous measures of that censorship against the printers of "Newes." The English Government, from the earliest period of journalism, manifested no slight degree of fear of the newspaper press.

The licensing system originated in 1637. The rigour of it was augmented by Act of Parliament in 1662.

The monopoly of newspaper "writing, printing, and publishing of all narratives, advertisements, Mercuries, Intelligencers, Diurnals, and other Bookes of Intelligence was conferred on Sir Roger L'Estrange in 1663.

The newspaper monopoly did not last long. The Court, two years later, thought fit to establish an official organ closely connected with it, and emanating from it.

The 13th November, 1665, the first number appeared of "The Oxford Gazette," and on the return of the Court from Oxford to London, the new official journal, in February, 1667, came out as "The London Gazette," and is now living in its two hundredth year.

The Edinburgh official Gazette did not appear till 1699.

In 1695, the licensing of newspapers fell into abeyance. An attempt was made to revive it, but without success.

In 1712, in the tenth year of the reign of Queen Anne, a stamp duty was first imposed on newspapers by Act of Parliament. The amount of duty imposed was one penny, and so continued to be for forty-eight years. The duty was increased, in 1760, to three half-pence. Subsequently, in 1789, it was increased to two-pence; then in 1797 to two pence half-penny, and ultimately, in 1815, to fourpence, at which it continued to 1836, when it was reduced to one penny, and so continued to be till 1855, when the duty was totally abolished as a newspaper stamp tax. While the duty was at fourpence, a discount of 20 per cent. was allowed, which reduced the amount actually paid to threepence and one-fifth of a penny.

The publications which dealt with politics in England, when first freed from the numerous restrictions under which they laboured, advanced rapidly in boldness, and licentiousness, it must be added. In 1712 the stamp tax laid on newspapers, a half-penny on half a sheet, a penny on a sheet, and a shilling on every advertisement, had rather the effect of augmenting the audacity

of newspaper publishers, of exasperating them, and augmenting the violence and virulence of political factions than of effecting any salutary restraint or check.

In those countries in which the influence of the newspaper press is now most potent, its power has been most contested. It has been truly said, "No power has ever excited more alarm, has had more enemies, has survived severer trials, or has undergone more singular revolutions."

In England the liberty of the press was not *professed* to be recognised till some years after the Revolution of 1688. The struggle to shake off the licensing system endured for fifty years. But to all intents and purposes for one hundred and thirty-two years, subsequently to the revolution of 1688, the career of the newspaper press of England was one of warfare with Government. Down to the period of the death of George III., the newspaper press was subjected to prosecutions, involving the most serious penalties, loss of money, and loss of liberty, on very slight pretexts—frequently on no reasonable pretext at all, of injury done to character or to state authority, or intended to be done to either. In fact the liberty of the press, strictly speaking, cannot be said to be established by the law of England at all. For although the licensing act was abolished, the law of libel—originally emanating from the Star Chamber—is still an instrument by which any Government might punish any kind of animadversion on its acts by means of special juries. But the liberty of the press, in ordinary

times of tranquillity, exists in *England*, not defined, or protected by written law, but secured by the general law of enlightened public opinion.*

In France, the history of journalism has been the history of a contest of public opinion with State power from 1789 to the present year 1866. In the Constituent Assembly, on the 5th of October, 1719, the liberty of public opinion was formally declared a natural and a civil right, and in virtue of that right the privilege of expressing orally, writing or publishing freely any opinion, was declared legal, with a little proviso, "Except that the abuse of this liberty must be answered for in conformity with the terms of the law." It is needless to say that it is not in France only, where an expression of opinion on public affairs adverse to authority has sufficed for a Government in our own times to make a sophism of the boasted Liberty of the Press, and where the highest functionaries of the law have been found, in every contest of a public journal with an arbitrary Government, bad guardians of the liberty of the press, and servile agents of despotic power.

But it should be borne in mind that the greatest opposition to the dissemination of news was not in the reigns of the least glorified English sovereigns.

In England the censorship of the press was conducted with so much rigour in the time of Queen Elizabeth, that news pamphlets or news letters were not allowed to

* British and Foreign Quarterly Review. Vol. iv., p. 418.

be published. This gave rise to the business of collecting news, particularly of remarkable foreign occurrences, and of those at home, connected with the Court, and transmitting written accounts of such intelligence to correspondents.

Half-pay or retired officers appear to have had a particular predilection for this kind of occupation; there is a record, quoted by Whitaker, of a Captain Robinson being paid £5 for writing news letters for six months.

OF ANCIENT STATUTES, WITH RESPECT TO LIBELS.

In "The Craftsman," Nos. 613 and 615, for April 8th and 22nd, 1738, we find an account of the ancient English Statutes, enacted to restrain undue freedom of opinion in matters of state, and of the Court, and subsequently to restrain the undue liberty of the press.

"The first Act, which hath any relation to our present subject, is that of Edward I. entitled, None shall report slanderous News, whereby discord may arise.—It says, 'Forasmuch as there have been oftentimes found in the Country Devisers of Tales, whereby discord hath many times arisen between the King and his People, or the great men of this Realm, &c.'—A law of this kind, if it were of any force, might be of excellent use against a Minister, who should devise tales to set the King against the People; or to make a breach between the King, and the Heir apparent of the Crown.

"This law was continued and extended; which laid the foundation of the punishments for printing and pub-

lishing what are now called Libels; and as such writings were made criminal by the Statute Law, it seems highly reasonable that they were not so before, by the common law, and ceased to be so, upon the expiration of those Statutes.

“The next was of Richard II. intituled, the Penalty for telling slanderous Lies of the Great Men of the Realm, which hath the following clause: ‘Item, of devisers of false News, and of horrible and false lies of Prelates, Dukes, Earls, Barons, and other Nobles, and great Men of the Realm, &c., of things, which by the said Prelates, Lords, Nobles, and Officers aforesaid, were never spoken, done, nor thought.’

“It then makes the penalty the same as that of Edward I., so that the reputations of great men were made as sacred as that of the Sovereign, and thought as necessary for the preservation of the public peace.

“These two acts were confirmed by another statute of the reign of Philip and Mary, which creates other penalties; ‘and if it is done by book, rhyme, ballad, letter, or writing, the person offending shall have his right hand cut off.’

“This law during the same reign was re-enacted, and made to continue in force till the last day of the ensuing parliament.

“In the succeeding reign (of Queen Elizabeth) it was enacted ‘that the offenders expressed in the same act shall be expounded to extend to those against the Queen, that now is, and the heirs of her body.’

“It must be observed that the word Printing is never used in any of these acts; tho’ in another passed at the same time, which made it High-Treason to compass the Death of the Queen, is the following clause; ‘and the same imaginations shall utter by open words, &c. Or shall publish, or directly say, that the Queen, during her life, is not, or ought not to be, Queen, &c. And if any person or persons, shall by writing, printing, overt deed, or act, commit any of the offences aforesaid, it shall be adjudged high treason.’

“Writing and printing, ‘That Edward VI. was not supreme head of the church; or to compass or imagine, by writing or printing, overt deed, or act, to depose or deprive the King, &c., is high treason.’

“In the reign of Henry VIII. it was enacted, ‘that it shall be high treason to wish or desire, by words or writing, or to imagine, invent, or attempt, any bodily harm to be done to the King, the Queen, or their heirs apparent.’

“The last act necessary to be mentioned is another of Queen Elizabeth, in explanation of a former act, which declares, ‘that it shall be high treason to intend destruction, or bodily harm to the Queen, &c. Or to affirm that the laws and statutes do not bind the right of the crown, and the descent, limitation, inheritance, or government thereof—whosoever shall, during the Queen’s life, by any book, or work, written or printed, expressly affirm (before the same be established in parliament)

* Edward VI. cap. 12.

that any one particular person is, or ought to be, heir and successor to the Queen, except the natural issue of her body, &c., shall, for the first offence, be a whole year imprison'd, and forfeit half his goods, &c.'

"Having thus cited all the statute laws I can find relating to any thing that hath the least connection with the doctrine and practice of punishing libels, as far as the end of the glorious reign of Queen Elizabeth; it will be necessary to make some observations upon what hath been already mentioned; and to shew that no power remains of punishing, in the manner now contended for, by any of these acts.

"It is observable, that our statute book begins with confirming the great charter, in the 9th of Henry III., which seems to imply that the said charter, and the common law of the land, where the latter was not contrary to the former, contain'd all the laws, by which the people, at that time, were bound or punishable; and from that time there could be no new crime, but what must be declared so by statute law, in which not only the crime, but punishment annex'd to it, must be declared, as well as who are to be judges of it, if it is not to be try'd according to the great charter; that is, by a jury of twelve men.

"Another thing, in affairs triable by juries upon statute-laws, is; they must either acquit or condemn, according to the statute. They ought not to find the thing to be done, as lately insisted on, and leave it to the judge to determine whether the thing done was

criminal or not; since the criminal part alone is punishable by the act.

“It is evident, from the statute-law, that some sorts of libels were punishable before the 9th of Henry III., and this must be by common law; since it was not by statute; which some persons, in later times, have been desirous to compare with their doctrine of libels; I mean the act of Edward I., which inflicts a punishment upon those who tell or publish any false news, or tales; and they are to be imprisoned until they have brought into court the first author of the tale.—Now, as no punishment is inflicted upon the author by this act, there must certainly have been some punishment for this crime by the common law before. The crime by this act, is telling, or publishing, any false news or tales. By the common law before, it was being the author of the false news. From whence it is plain that the crime consisted in the falsehood of the thing told and publish’d by the one, as it does in being invented by the other. The speaking or publishing truth cannot be a crime in its own nature; and whenever it hath been made so by statute, in this kingdom, the things not to be written upon have been always expressly declared.

“This very punishment of the reporters or authors of false news or tales, is a negative proof that every man hath a right to tell or publish the truth; tho’ one cannot reflect without great concern, on what hath passed in the memory of many men, upon prosecutions for publishing libels and false news. When the counsel for the

defendants have offered to prove the news not to be false, it hath been over-ruled by the court; and upon the jury's only finding the publication, very severe punishments have been often inflicted upon them. With submission to much greater authority and learning, I cannot conceive that, before the statute of 3 Edward I., the telling or publishing any false news or tales, was punishable by any law then in being; or even supposing it was, the persons accused had not right to prove it not false; for either the act made that a crime, which was not so before; or else it only added a new penalty, and the description of the crime is the same as before; which makes it necessary to prove, in both cases, that the matter spoken or published is false.

"The act of Richard II. against telling slanderous lies of the great men, which hath the same penalty annexed to it as the other, is a farther confirmation that the crime consists alone in the falsehood of the fact; for it is there made punishable to tell any false news, lies, or other such false things, of the prelates, &c. And they are to be imprison'd till they produce the author.

"The two laws, of Edw. I. and Rich. II. that have been so often mention'd, with the explanation of them, and that law which makes it high-treason to write or print against the Hanover succession, are the only statute laws now in force, which can any ways relate to our present subject of libelling, or the liberty of the press. That of treason not being by any means in dispute at present, the affair must turn very much upon the other two.

“It ought to be remember’d that the Lord Coke, who is so often quoted in the affair of libels, wrote at a time, when the laws of the Star-Chamber were thought to be the laws of the land; and that most of his opinions are founded upon the determinations of that very court. He likewise asserted the great antiquity and powers of the star-chamber; but he did not live to see it abolish’d by act of parliament, ‘because its proceedings, censures and decrees have by experience been found to be an intolerable burthen to the subject, and the means to introduce an arbitrary power and government.’—Nor ought the opinion of ever so many Lawyers to have any weight, if founded only upon the judgment and practices of those times.

“After this the press was free till the Restoration; when the politick scheme of reviving the court of star-chamber might, perhaps, be in view to restrain the licentiousness of the press; and if the act pass’d for this purpose could have been render’d effectual there would have been no need of precedents for the punishment of libellers; at a time, when the suppression of the star-chamber, and the arbitrary methods of proceeding in it, were too recent to be forgotten.

“The private abuse of the natural liberties of mankind ought to be only so far restrain’d as it is inconsistent with the publick welfare. But a nation that will ever submit to a restraint of liberty, under any pretences of their not being acquainted with publick business, and the actions of public persons, which so essentially concern

them, must give up all their liberties. No man of sense ever contended for a right of exposing the follies of another's private character; which is not only ill-nature, but may justly provoke the party injured to retort, or revenge it. The publick is not interested enough in the failings of individuals, to suffer such a liberty; though the ancient prosecutions, in these cases, were for damages only. But surely the people are vastly concern'd, not only in the wickedness, but the folly of those, who are trusted by them in publick stations. This is the point, for which we are at present contending; and, indeed, the only point worthy contending for.

“ The licensing act being obtain'd, and the views of the court not very early discover'd, it was some time before there was any occasion to make use of the precedents of the Star-Chamber, in the King's Bench. But the judges of those times were so obsequious, that whenever they wanted a precedent, they would have it at any rate. Jeffreys, the last of them, declared, that if there were no precedent for what he was doing, he did not see why he had not as good a right to make one as any of his predecessors. Thus have those abhorr'd judges, who could not enslave us at that time, left some of their shackles upon us; and tho' K. James could not dispense with our laws, but lost his crown for attempting it; yet Jeffreys, it seems, could not only do that, but even enact laws, which bind futurity; for every new precedent made by the judges, in this case, is in effect making that law, which was not before, if rule of law is founded upon modern pre-

cedents only, and not upon old usage, or acts of parliament. Whatever notions we may entertain of the people's making laws, or that they are made by their consent; yet, in many cases, it is the judge's interpretation, which constitutes the law; and it will not afterwards be suffered to call the practice upon it in question; for when the court hath determined any thing to be law, all objections to it are commonly over-ruled.

“By these means, we now enjoy the fruits of those blessed endeavours, which were made by Charles and James II. for reviving in another shape that great branch of prerogative, the Star-Chamber by transferring its powers and precedents to the King's Bench. Could there be any doubt of this, the state law, or doctrine of libels, would sufficiently convince us of it; particularly where it is said, ‘that whatever might be the practice of the King's Bench, in earlier times, we find that latterly it hath follow'd the examples laid down by the star-chamber for punishing variously, according to the nature of the offence; more especially, since the suppression of that court, when the King's Bench found left to itself the correction of a great many enormities, which before were punishable in the Star-Chamber.’

“The Revolution may be justly said, in some degree at least, to be owing to the communicative knowledge of the press, even whilst under a licenser; and yet this clog upon it was not taken off till it expired of itself; and even then great pains were taken to revive it, which very nearly succeeded. Such is the bewitching love of power,

that the best of princes are not willing to part with it; much less the worst. This sufficiently proves how necessary it is for the people always to preserve the liberty of the press; and whoever seriously considers how small the remains of it are, at present, must be convinced that there have been many late encroachments upon it, without Act of Parliament, or any other authority of Parliament. That fatal legacy of precedents is continually growing; and unless some speedy stop be put to them, the ancient laws must be swallowed up in the new ones, which they of course create. Every prosecutor of this kind endeavours to show his abilities, by finding out new methods of convicting and punishing what they call libels; and surely their great sagacity in this respect will at length convince mankind that we hold the liberty of the press by a very precarious tenure, if at all."

In "The Craftsman," April 29th, No. 616, the editor inquires "Whether there is now any liberty of the press?" and answers his inquiry, "according to the modern interpretation, not only the immediate author and printer, but likewise all persons whatsoever, who are concerned in writing, transcribing, spreading, and dispersing a libel, are deemed publishers, and punishable as such; even every coffeeman, innkeeper, or other person who takes in a newspaper for the entertainment of his customers. In like manner, every person who reads a paper which is called a libel, and those who laughed at it, are not out of danger. Nay, every noblemen and gentleman who buys a newspaper for his own use, or the amusement of his family,

may be found guilty of publishing a libel, if he happens to read it himself in company, or lends it to any of his friends, or suffers it to lie upon his table, or, in short, does not immediately burn it, or deliver it into the hands of a magistrate, especially if it happens to touch, even in the most distant manner, upon the management of public affairs.

“ If to all this we add the late practice of general warrants, for which Lord Chief Justice Scroggs was prosecuted by Parliament, even whilst the press was under a licenser; the violent and arbitrary proceedings of messengers; their ransacking of houses, rooms, and cabinets; seizing whole impressions of printed books, with shop books and other private papers; breaking the press; long and close confinement of persons; extraordinary bail, contrary to the Habeas Corpus Act; expence and interruption of business; rigorous prosecutions upon informations, special juries, imprisonment, fines, and good behaviour, to mention no more at present. Let any man, I say, consider all these things, and judge whether Ministers of State are not already armed with such power, that it is almost impossible to carry on any public paper without their license or the ruin of those concerned in it.

“ Upon the whole, let the reader judge whether we enjoy the liberty of the press in any such degree as is generally supposed and asserted to be our right, since the Revolution and establishment of the Protestant Succession.”

The unfortunate "Craftsman" being made a victim of those libel laws he ventured to call the justice of them in question ; in another periodical of the same year, 1738, we find the following comments on the prosecution and conviction of the editor of the "Craftsman :"—

"COMMON SENSE; OR, THE ENGLISHMAN'S JOURNAL.

"April 29th, No. 65.

"Mr. Haines, printer of 'The Craftsman,' being next week to be brought to the King's-bench bar to receive judgment, 'Common Sense,' as well as the 'Craftsman' of this day have ingeniously adapted their papers to the occasion ; but it is nevertheless the opinion of several, that they have not much strengthened the arguments used by Mr. Hamilton for Mr. Zenger, the printer of New York, whose tryal, therefore, no printer ought to be without.

"Mr. 'Common Sense's' paper turns on the power of the judges to pervert the law. He quotes the instance of the judges in Car. II. discharging the grand jury because they should not receive a presentment against the Duke of York, which he says was a detestable precedent. He mentions further, the enervating the strength of the Habeas Corpus, and making breaches on Magna Charta, and declarations for the sake of the Government, on which he brings these remarks : 'If the Judges make new laws by an ill construction, or an ill execution of old ones, I conclude that Parliaments will soon be found useless, and the liberty of the people an inconvenience to the Government.'

"All our laws of liberty stand the people of England in little stead if judges assume a power of declaring law in so strong a manner, and even to make a penal law out of their own heads."

"The House of Commons voted Lord Chief Justice Scrogg's warrant to the messengers of the press, to seize unlicensed pamphlets and newspapers, to be arbitrary and illegal (*See 'State Trials,'* vol. iii., p. 222.)

The writer concludes his strictures with an expression of his feelings, of the sincerity of which there can be no reasonable doubt.

"For my part, my passions are very warm for the memory of King Alfred, who hanged forty-four Judges in one year as murderers of the law."

The prevailing cry of the newspaper press of England from 1682 to 1688, was "The Protestant Interest." It found expression in numerous organs of English public opinion.

"The Protestant Courant: Imparting News Foreign and Domestick" (Printed for Richard Bayldwin, Old Bayly, London, 1682). A single copy of this paper, printed on both sides of one leaf of paper, folio size, exists in Trinity College Library Collection of "Irish Tracts," in five vols., folio.

The number of publications of the same fanatical description as those of the "Protestant Courant," "The Protestant Post-boy," "News from Hell and Rome," was almost incredible.

The recently discovered "Letters of Daniel Defoe," existing in the Record Office, leave no doubt of the Government practice of suborning and stipending newspaper proprietors and writers connected with them was as old as the times of the "Mercurius Politicus," and other cotemporaneous newspapers under Defoe's management and influence.

In reference to the origin and progress of British Journalism, "The Written Letters of News," we find accounts of one Rowland White, constantly going over to see Robert Sydney, at Flushing, with the news and intrigues of the Court, for which Sydney "allowed him a salary." (See "Memorials of State," quoted by Mr. Hunt.)

Edward Coleman, the victim of Titus Oates, was another professional news writer, and was one of the few gentlemen connected with news writing who have been hanged for exercising the duties of that calling.

The literary gentlemen who wrote for the News Letters of former days were not always fortunate. In the reign of Charles II., this poor Mr. Edward Coleman, a gentleman of good family in Suffolk, who filled the office of secretary to the King's brother, James, Duke of York, and subsequently to the Duchess of York, was denounced by that public-spirited divine, Dr. Titus Oates, as a writer and circulator of News Letters, to the great danger of religion and the State. And on the pressure brought to bear on Government, the unfortunate Mr. Coleman was prosecuted, convicted, sentenced to

death, and executed. Mr. Coleman was a Catholic,—that was not a reason why he should have been abandoned by the Catholic Prince, his master, but it was a reason why he should have been reviled and hounded to the death by Jeffreys, and being judged and doomed to die by Judge Scroggs, as he passed on the hurdle to Tyburn, to be judicially murdered, should be hooted by an English mob. Scroggs hated News Letters as much as he abhorred Papists, or “the prince of the powers of darkness hated ink,” as we are informed an eminent reformer thought, when, having had bad dreams and being troubled by a vision of the Fiend, he threw an ink bottle at his head with the happiest effect.

Scroggs, on the trial of Carr, said: “So fond are men in these days, that when they will deny their children a penny for bread, they will lay it out for a pamphlet. And it did so swarm, and the temptations were so great, that no man could keep twopence in his pocket because of the news.”

The Mercuries were usually published twice or thrice weekly, some monthly. There are in the author's possession, “The Monthly Register; or, Memoirs of the Affairs of Europe, Digested from the Several Advices that came to England in the years 1703, 4–5– and 6 (in 4 Vols., small 4to. London, printed for Sam Buckley, Little Britain).

“The Historical and Political Monthly Mercury, or Present State of Europe; Giving an Account of all Public and Private Occurrences, Civil, Ecclesiastical,

and Military, most considerable in every Court. The Interests of Princes, their Pretensions and Intrigues. To be continued Monthly. From Originals, Published at the Hague, By The Authority of the States of Holland and West Friesland." (London, small 4to. Printed for Henry Rhodes, Bride Lane, and the Assigns of Eliza Harriss. In Thirty Volumes.) This very remarkable periodical began in November, 1688, and the last number of the last volume (thirty) in the author's possession is for December, 1719. It approaches more to the character of "The Annual Register" of our own times than to that of a newspaper publication, and the most curious feature of it is, the obvious popular interest taken in England from the date of the Revolution to that of the last-mentioned volume for 1719, in rumours of all kinds, caught up at foreign courts, respecting the movements of the sovereigns of Germany, Prussia, Holland, France, and Spain, the sayings and doings of their ministers, their mistresses, &c., &c., for transmission to England, and as if the people of that country had no home interests to look after or to read about, and to think of. In fact to read those *Mercuries*, so extensively circulated, and to consider the political and polemical appetites for which they catered; the evidence, too, they afforded that the readers of them must have imagined they had a special interest in all rumours of foreign affairs undergoing any change, and that the English people had a special mission assigned to them by Providence to meddle in

them, and to make a muddle of them, as they invariably did whenever they meddled in them too much or too long; and that in fact they were labouring for those intermediate years between 1688 to 1720, under one of those politico-polemico-monomaniacal epidemics, which the people of England are periodically affected with.

"The Public Intelligencer," published by Sir Robert L'Estrange, according to Lord Mountmorres was "the first newspaper that appeared in England in its present form." It was started by him August 31st, 1661.

The first English newspaper it certainly was not. Forty years previously to the origin of "The Public Intelligencer," that London periodical, published weekly, was printed by Nathaniel Butter, called "The Newes of the Present Week," which appeared in 1622, and was continued afterwards in 1626, under another title—"Mercurius Britannicus." Then came out "The German Intelligencer," in 1630, and "The Swedish Intelligencer," compiled, strange to say, by a man of learning, William Watts, for the purpose of administering periodical doses of eulogies, and exploits of the Swedish Hero, Gustavus Adolphus.

It matters very little what any periodicals published and circulated daily, twice, or thrice weekly, or weekly, or even monthly were called—"Mercuries" or "Intelligencers," "Pacquets," or "Packets of Newes," or "Pamphlets of Newes"—if their main object was to convey intelligence of a political kind, foreign or domestic, or both, they were newspapers, and their cha-

racter as such was wholly irrespective of their form and size.

Till very recently the first English newspaper was said to be "The Newes of the Present Week," printed by Nathaniel Butter, in 1622.

But in "The Gentleman's Magazine," for May, 1859, we find the following remarkable references to "Early English Journalism," in a letter signed E. G. B.:—

" BRITISH JOURNALISM.

" It is true that the *first supposed newspaper* was a 'Mercurie,' under the title of 'The English Mercurie,' and has been preserved as such among the Birch and Sloan MSS. in the British Museum; it bears date A.D. 1588, and professes to give a detailed account of the defeat of the Spanish Armada: but Mr. Watts, now superintendent of the reading-room, detected it as a *forgery*, written by Lord Hardwicke as an experiment on the credulity of the British public. So important was this discovery, that Mr. Watts wrote a small pamphlet some years ago on the subject, and his testimony is confirmed by the existence of other numbers of the same spurious journal, in Lord Hardwicke's handwriting, in the same collection of MSS. The printed paper, both in material and typography, bears evidence of modern date. I have seen both the MSS. and the print, and can vouch for the accuracy of Mr. Watt's statement.

“Setting this forgery aside, the first *bond fide* news paper was published A.D. 1603, and may be seen in the collection of ‘London Newspapers’ made by Dr. Burney, the largest and most complete of any in existence, extending, with a few missing numbers, from 1603 to 1757.

“E. G. B.”

It is somewhat singular that the writer of the preceding communication did not name “the first *bond fide* newspaper that was published in 1603.”

But as Mr. Andrews, he says, was well acquainted with the collection in which it exists, and nevertheless considered Butters’s ‘Newes Letter’ of 1622, the first English newspaper, we may conclude he was right in so doing.

Higher than that we cannot go for the origin of English newspapers, unless we have recourse, like Chalmers, to “the wisdom of Elizabeth, and the prudence of Burleigh,” for the origin and circulation of “the first genuine newspaper—‘The English Mercurie,’ printed during the time of the Spanish Armada,” in July, 1588.

But, unfortunately for national pride and the glory of the wisdom of the Virgin Queen, and of the prudence of the sagacious Burleigh, the first *genuine* article of the English newspaper kind was not genuine at all; it was a literary fraud—a forgery—a clever hoax—a successful humbug at the hands of a satirical rogue,

whose amusement it was to take in literary gentlemen, like poor Chalmers, who exulted in the preservation of this precious relic of English periodical literature.

"The first number is still preserved in the British Museum (marked 50). It is dated 23rd, July, 1588, and contains the following curious article: 'Yesterday the Scotch ambassador had a private audience of Her Majesty, and delivered a letter from the King, his master, containing the most cordial assurances of adhering to Her Majesty's interests, and to those of the Protestant religion, and the young King said to Her Majesty's Minister at his Court, that all the favour he expected from the Spaniards was the courtesy of Polyphemus to Ulysses—that he should be devoured last.' Who will say that the noble concocter of 'The English Mercurie,' had not wit and humour in his hoaxing recreation?

A gentleman well acquainted with Early English Periodical Literature, Mr. William Lee, in "Notes and Queries," for January 27th, 1866, gives an elaborate statement of the several lists of such periodicals, from the earliest times to the year 1732.

Bagford's list of those periodicals, extended from the early part of the sixteenth to the end of the seventeenth century (Bib. Harl. 5910. Vol. 1).

Chalmers, in his "Life of Ruddiman," brought down the list from 1640 to the year 1793.

Dr. Nathan Drake, in his "Essays on 'The Rambler, Adventurer,'" &c., gave a table of Periodical Publications from 1709 to 1809.

Mr. John Nichols, in his "Literary Anecdotes," gave a list of Periodicals for the two centuries preceding his time, the middle of the eighteenth century.

Then followed a later, more correct, and much enlarged account of Periodicals of twenty years, treated of by Drake and Nichols, given by Mr. Lee, in "Notes and Queries," for 27th January, 1866.

But in the reign of George II., Chalmers tells us the impetus given to English newspaper literature was astounding. "The number of newspapers which were actually sold annually in England, according to an average of three years, ending with 1753, was 7,411,757. Ditto, ending with 1760, was 9,464,790.*

Great as was the total number of newspapers sold in the two periods of three years each, upwards of a century ago, how small would they now appear, contrasted with the sale in corresponding periods of our own times.

The preceding newspaper statistics contrast strangely indeed with those of the present day.

From the "Newspaper Press Directory for 1866" we extract the following on the present position of the Newspaper Press:—"There are now published in the United Kingdom 1,257 newspapers, distributed as follows:—England—London, 226; Provincial, 707—933; Wales, 43; Scotland, 139; Ireland, 128; British

* Chalmers' "Life of Buddiman," p. 434.

Isles, 14. Of these there are—52 daily papers published in England; 1 ditto, Wales; 12 ditto, Ireland; 1 ditto, British Isles.

With respect to Early Printing in Scotland, a few words remain to be said.

“The Life of Thomas Ruddiman, A.M., Keeper for nearly Fifty Years of the Library of the Faculty of Advocates at Edinburgh” (by George Chalmers, F.R.S.S.A. Lon., 12mo, 1794), is a very useful work on early typography. Notwithstanding the unlucky discovery of Chalmers’s origin of English newspapers, and his causeless satisfaction at finding what he sought in England, in “the wisdom of Elizabeth and the prudence of Burleigh,” displayed in the production of “the first genuine English newspaper, ‘The English Mercurie,’ Imprinted by Authority at London, by Christopher Barker, Her Highness’s printer, in 1588.” Notwithstanding the said “British Mercurie” owes its origin to a hoax, much useful information is to be found in “The Life of Thomas Ruddiman,” the most learned printer that Scotland can boast of. Chalmers justly observes that the editor of Dodsley’s “Old Plays,” with less certainty than confidence, had declared that “Gallo Belgicus” was the name of “the first newspaper published in England The Collection (of ‘Papers and Tracts’) in the British Museum, which had once belonged to the King’s Library, shows plainly, though it is not complete, the nature of the work. It may be called ‘The State of Europe,’ or ‘The Annual Register,’ or more truly, ‘The

History of our own Times,' but it is not a newspaper. . . . 'The Mercurius Caledonius,' comprising the Affairs in the Agitation in Scotland, with a Survey of Foreign Intelligence," continues Chalmers, "No. 1, dated from Monday, 31st of December, 1660, to Tuesday, the 8th day of January, 1661, in small 4to. of eight pages, was printed by a society of stationers in Edinburgh, and was published once a week." After ten numbers, "The Mercurius Caledonius" *died out*.

The searches made for Chalmers, by William Robertson, in the General Registry House in Edinburgh, led to the discovery of a patent of K. James IV., of Scotland, "which plainly demonstrates," says Chalmers, "that a printing press was first established at Edinburgh in 1507, at the end of thirty years after that interesting trade had been brought to Westminster by Caxton. The first Scotch printers were Walter Chapman, a merchant in Edinburgh, and Andrew Millar, a mere workman. . . . At the commencement of the seventeenth century, the printers of Edinburgh were generally booksellers, who, having acquired some wealth, were enabled to purchase a press, but knew no more of books than the title page and the price. Andrew Hart, who is justly praised by Watson for his well-printed Bible, was only a bookseller." * Ruddiman, the first learned printer Scotland could boast of, began to print in Edinburgh in 1715.

* Chalmers's "Life of Ruddiman," Lon. 8vo., 1794, p. 80.

About the time of the Restoration, and even after it, newspapers published in London were reprinted in Edinburgh. The same thing occurred at Dublin.

"The London Chronicle, for the Year 1758" (reprinted by Augustus Long, in Essex Street, Dublin, and sold by L. Flinn, bookseller, at the Bible, Castle Street, 4to.), is in my possession; and not one word of Irish intelligence is to be found, even surreptitiously introduced, in a page or two at the end, containing some matter relating to Ireland, as we find done in "Exshaw's Magazine," in reality, "The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer."

At length, in February, 1699, "'The Edinburgh Gazette' was published, By Authority, by James Watson, the author of 'The History of the Art of Printing.'" It was published twice weekly—one sheet folio, two columns in each page.

In February 1705 Watson established "The Edinburgh Courant," and in September, 1705, he originated "The Scots Courant," which he continued to print till 1718.

In August, 1709, "The Scots Postman" was established.

In 1715 Glasgow, notwithstanding its large commercial interests, first enjoyed the advantages of a newspaper, and in that year one newspaper, "The Glasgow Courant," sufficed for all her wants.

The first newspaper set up in Glasgow, and indeed in any town in the west of Scotland, was "The Glasgow

Courant," subsequently called "The West Country Intelligencer," which was commenced November 14th, 1715. It was published thrice weekly, sold for three half-pence, in small 4to., of twelve pages. It consisted, like our early Irish papers, mainly of extracts from the London newspapers, some private correspondence, and occasional scraps of poetry. "It contained very little local intelligence of any kind." The latest number of this paper that is known to exist is the sixty-seventh, for May 1st, 1816.

The first paper published north of the Forth, was "The Aberdeen Journal," started in 1746 or 1747, by a Mr. Chalmers. One of the earliest articles of any importance was "An Account of the Battle of Culloden." Like other provincial papers, for a long series of years, it scarcely contained anything but extracts from London papers and advertisements.

At the period of the Union, Scotland had only three newspapers.

In 1718 "The Edinburgh Evening Courant" made its appearance, printed by James McEwen, and in March, 1729, "The Caledonian Mercury" became the property of Ruddiman, and continued in his hands, and in his family down, to May, 1772, when it was purchased by John Robertson.

Ruddiman "rested from his labours," those of a long literary life, in 1757, in his eighty-third year.

The labours of that life, we are told by his biographer, he probably, in his old age, began to suspect were all

vanities. Certain it is, that though he had spent his days and nights in a library, yet a short time before his death he took an aversion to books which was almost unconquerable. *

I doubt very much if any book collector, a genuine lover of old books, except under the influence of very strong religious feelings, ever takes an unconquerable aversion to books. The fact is, Ruddiman had taken an unconquerable aversion for literary warfare, in which he had embroiled a large portion of the latter years of his life, occasioned by his "Life of Buchanan."

Perhaps the following lines may be taken as an exposition of the feelings of a book collector, while engaged in his favourite pursuit, and when it has been abandoned by him :

Old Books

COLLECTED.

"Quando omnes loquuntur et deliberant, optimum à mutis et mortuis est consilium. Homines quoque si taceant, vocem invenient libri, et quæ nemo dicit, prudens suggerit antiquitas."

INSCRIPTIO GUELFBRYLANÆ BIBLIOTHECÆ.

I MUST confess I love old books !
 The dearest, too, perhaps most dearly :
 Thick, clumpy tomes, of antique looks,
 In pigskin covers fashioned queerly ;
 Clasped, chained, or thonged, stamped quaintly too,
 With figures wondrous strange, of holy
 Men and women, and cherubs, few
 Might well from owls distinguish duly.

* Chalmer's "Life of Ruddiman," p. 186.

I love black-letter books, that saw
The light of day at least three hundred
Long years ago : and look with awe
On works that live, so often plundered.

I love the sacred dust, the more
It clings to ancient lore, enshrining
Thoughts of the dead, renowned of yore,
Embalmed in books; for age declining,

Fit solace, food, and friends most sure
To have around one, always handy,
When sinking spirits find no cure
In news, election brawls, or brandy.

In these old books, more soothing far
Than balm of Gilead or Nepenthes,
I seek an antidote for care—
Of which, most men indeed have plenty.

"Five hundred times at least," I've said—
My wife assures me—"I would never
Buy more old books;" yet lists are made,
And shelves are lumbered more than ever.

Ah! that our wives could only see
How well the money is invested
In these old books, which seem to be
By them, alas! so much detested!

There's nothing hath enduring youth,
Eternal newness, strength unailing,
Except old books, old friends, old truth,
That's ever battling—still prevailing.

In lands like this, a nation once,
Of freedom lost and prized too cheaply
"Let no man speak!" we must renounce
Such themes, and in old books dive deeply.

'Tis better in the past to live
Than grovel in the present vilely,
In clubs, and cliques, where placemen hive,
And faction hums, and dolts rank highly.

To be enlightened, counselled, led,
By master-minds of former ages,
Come to old books—consult the dead—
Commune with silent saints and sages.

Leave me, ye gods! to my old books—
Polemics yield to sects that wrangle—
Vile "parish politics" to folks
Who love to squabble, scheme and jangle!

Dearly beloved old pigskin tomes!
Of dingy hue—old bookish darlings!
Oh, cluster ever round my rooms,
And banish strife, disputes, and snarlings!

R. R. M

May 12th, 1860.

Old Books

ABANDONED.

"Farewell at once, for once, for now and ever."

RICHARD II.

I LOVED old books, I must confess,
 "Not wisely, but too well"—unduly;
 Perhaps I love them even yet,
 As much as ever, and as truly.

I lived in them; they were to me
 A world of wealth and priceless treasure;
 They served me for society,
 Secured me peace, content, and pleasure.

They're gone, and to the past no more
 I fly from present cares and crosses,
 To cheer sad thoughts with varied lore,
 Repair untoward ills or losses.

They're gone, and I no more may roam
 From pondrous folios, well collated,
 To pigmy Elsevirs; from tome
 To tome of learning concentrated.

They're gone; my auction rounds are done,
 And my last sale has been attended:
 "Othello's occupation's gone,"
 All my "big wars" for books are ended.

Perhaps 'tis better to forget
 All vain pursuits—each fleeting pleasure,
 To feel—this house of mine to set
 In order, needs a little leisure.

The well-known voice of one long dead,
 Whose tones can be forgotten never,
 I think I hear, and words are said,
 With wisdom fraught, as his were ever:

—The future, not the past, the mind
 Of age should fill; few books are needed
 For it, save those in which man find
 Eternal truths and interests pleaded.

R. B. M.

The earliest printing in America, according to Thomas's "History of Printing," was at Cambridge, in Massachusetts.

"In January, 1639, printing was first performed in that part of North America which extends from the Gulph of Mexico to the Frozen Ocean."

The Bible was printed at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1660, in small 4to.

"Except in Massachusetts," says Thomas, "no presses were set up in the American colonies till near the close of the seventeenth century."

With respect to American printing, it may be observed that Benjamin Franklin, in one of his communications to the press, quoted in his life, says: "In 1720 or 1721, my brother began to print a new public paper. It was the second that made its appearance in America, and was entitled 'The New England Courant.' The only newspaper that existed before, was 'The Boston News Letter.' Some of his friends, I remember would have dissuaded him from this undertaking, as a thing that was not likely to succeed, a single newspaper being, in their opinion, sufficient for all America. At present, however (1771), there are no less than twenty-five newspapers. He carried his point into execution, and I was employed in distributing the copies to his distributors, after assisting in working them off."

Mr. William Lee, an accurate writer on Early English Periodical Literature, says: "James Franklin worked upon the 'Boston Gazette,' I think, before his brother

Benjamin was apprenticed. The 'News Letter' of Boston preceded it, and was the first newspaper printed in America. I have found no trace of the 'News Letter' beyond the name, and have not therefore placed it in the table."

THE PALE AND THE PRESS.

Lord Mountmorres, in his "History of the Irish Parliament" (Vol. ii., p. 123), relates a curious instance of the dislike and fear in which printing was held by the Irish Parliament, long before a newspaper was printed in Ireland. He says: "In July, 1662, a very extraordinary question arose about preventing the publication of the debates of the Irish Parliament in an English newspaper, printed in London, called 'The Intelligencer,' and a letter was written by the Speaker to the English Secretary of State to prevent these publications in the 'English Diurnals,' as they call them. But when Cromwell made his appearance, and the Long Parliament originated appeals to the people, by means of reports of its proceedings, 'Diurnal Occurrences of Parliament' were published, and from November 3rd, 1641, to the Restoration, these diurnals of this kind were issued, under various titles." Lord Mountmorres says the number of them from 1641 to 1660 was one hundred and fifty-six.

But after the Revolution, the same author tells us, the publication of Parliamentary proceedings was interdicted, but the votes of the House of Commons were printed by the authority of the House.

From August 31st, 1661, when the "Public Intelligencer," printed in London, commenced, to 1688, there were seventy of these ephemeral journals published in London. The first true Diurnal, or London paper, published daily (Lord Mountmorres says) after the Revolution, was called "The Orange Intelligencer," and thence to 1692, there were twenty-six papers published in London.

An advertisement in "The Athenian Gazette," February 8th, 1696, states, the coffee houses were then supplied with nine newspapers weekly, but it does not appear in 1696, there was one daily paper.*

There were at that time throughout the country seventy, and in Scotland fourteen country papers.

The ephemeral publications of this sort of the reign of Charles II., exceeded in numbers those of any former period; from 1661 to 1668, no less than seventy of them had been started in London. In 1668, the Government let loose the law officers of the Crown on the printers and publishers, on all of them that meddled with politics, and great consternation was the result in the mercurial world.

"The Athenian Gazette, or Casuistical Mercury. Resolving all the most Nice and Curious Questions, proposed by the Ingenious of Either Sex." (Printed and published by John Dunton, in the Poultry. London.

* In the reign of Queen Anne there were, in 1709, eighteen weekly newspapers published in London, and only one daily paper, "The Courant." In the reign of George I., three daily, six weekly, and ten evening papers published thrice weekly. At the close of the reign of George II. in the year 1766, there were published, in all England, 9,464,790 copies of papers.

1691-1696.) This nondescript periodical, more of a literary journal and miscellany of essays, than any other sort of serial, published by an eccentric London bookseller, in common parlance a little cracked, appeared twice weekly. It extended to ten thin volumes, small fol. (twelve and a-half inches long, by seven and a-half inches broad). Each volume contained thirty numbers, and each number one leaf, printed on both sides. The first number was published in January, 1691, the last, May 20th, 1693.

John Dunton completed the nineteenth and concluding volume of his "Athenian Mercury, Resolving all the most Nice and Curious Questions proposed by the Ingenious," February 8th, 1696. This penny paper, of five years existence, printed on a single leaf, and published twice weekly, seems to have been frightened to death by an awful irruption of London newspapers in the beginning of 1696, there being then, to poor John Dunton's great disgust and dismay, "a glut of news," no less than "nine newspaper every week."

Dunton was one of the earliest publishers of a weekly paper without politics. It professed "to solve all the nice and curious questions, proposed by the ingenious." It commenced in 1691 and terminated in 1696. It was a jumble of quaint nonsense, with occasional gleams of meaning.*

"Defoe's Review" was the first periodical work that sought readers among the people, and approached social

* Knight's "Popular History of England," Vol. v., p. 405.

questions, in which were involved the principles of political economy, with practical suggestions prompted by feelings of sound benevolence.

"Defoe's Review" appeared five years before "The Tatler."

"The Rehearsal" (commonly called "Leslie's Rehearsal." Printed and sold by the booksellers of London and Westminster. 1704-1707). This periodical (small fol. size, same as that of the "Athenian Mercury") published weekly, commenced in August, 1704.

The last number of the two volumes in my possession is 231, for August 2nd, 1707.

The first number of this polemical periodical is called "The Observer," August 5th, 1704.

The title of the second number was changed to "The Rehearsal of Observer," and in June, 1705, was again changed to "The Rehearsal."

"The Rehearsal" is neither literary nor political; it makes war on Puritanism, in a spirit of fierce fanaticism worthy of the Puritans. In its pages we find all polemics, nothing but polemics. Every subject treated of was polemical, and every writer or work dealt with was polemically viewed, damned, or vindicated on account of polemics.

Addison, in "The Freeholder," No. 53, for June 22nd, 1716, gave expression to the grave apprehensions he entertained of the results of the growing power and extension of the newspaper press. "Of all the ways and means by which this political humour hath been

propagated among the people of Great Britain, I cannot single out any so prevalent and universal as the constant application of the press to the publishing of State matters. We hear of several (newspaper presses) that are newly erected in the country, and set apart for this particular use. For it seems the people of Exeter, Salisbury, and other large towns, are resolved to be as great politicians as the inhabitants of London and Westminster, and deal out such news of their own printing as is best suited to the genius of the market people and taste of the country. One cannot but be sorry, for the sake of these places, that such a pernicious machine is erected among them." If the ghost of Addison could visit this sublunary sphere, and see the power and extension, in all the towns and cities of the British Empire, of "this pernicious machine," what feelings of terror and astonishment would not be excited by the vastness of the dominion and influence of that Fourth Estate!

"The Craftsman" made its appearance in 1730. The publisher and editor was Caleb Danvers, of Gray's Inn, Esq. It was of 4to. size, twelve inches long, by seven broad.

In the number of that paper for November, 1740, there is an excellent article "On the State of the Press and Hardships of Printers in Great Britain." The editor says, "By frequent warrants against several people at a time, even so low as the poor Devils of the press, by commitments, finding bail, seizures of papers, trials by informations, special juries, convictions, and

imprisonments, and fines, the proprietors of this paper have been put to the expense of at least two thousand pounds sterling, besides other personal hardships and inconveniences, while the ministerial hirelings of the press are not only protected in the grossest abuse, but rewarded for it, at the people's expence in a most extravagant and scandalous manner."

Pope was assailed, slandered, and vilified by the Editors and mercenary scribes, party writers, and hiring penny-a-liners of the various scurrilous Mercuries, Gazetteers, Weekly Journals, Pacquets of News, and Miscellanies of his time, ten or fifteen years before he gave vent to his pent-up wrath and indignation in the "Dunciad," nearly a century and a half ago.

The annotator of the London edition of 1859, of "Pope's Works," informs his readers, the assailants of Pope were the proprietors of, and contributors to, various Papers of News, trumpery periodicals, in which news and scandal were mingled. These papers were continually changing their name, politics, size and sides, such as, "The London Journal," "The British Journal," "The Daily Journal," "Mists Journal," "Fogs Journal," "The Grub Street Journal," "The Craftsman," "Daily Courant."

Pope's *complimentary* origin of English Journals, Medleys, Mercuries, Magazines, was certainly applicable enough to that class of periodicals of his time:—

"Close to those walls where Folly holds her throne,
And laughs to think Monroe would take her down,
Where o'er the gates, by his famed father's hand,
Great Cibber's brassen brainless brothers stand ;

One cell there is concealed from vulgar eye,
 The cave of Poverty and Poetry.
 Keen hollow winds howl through the bleak recess,
 Emblem of music, caused by emptiness.
 Hence bards, like Proteus, long in vain tied down,
 Escape in monsters and amaze the town.
 Hence Miscellanies spring, the weekly boast
 Of Curl's chaste press, and Lintot's rubric post.
 Hence hymning Tyburn's elegiac lines,
 Hence Journals, Medleys, Merc'ries, Magazines;
 Sepulchral lies, our holy wall to grace,
 And new-year odes and all the Grub Street race." *
 " True to the bottom, see Concanen creep,
 A cold, long-winded native of the deep,
 If perseverance gain the diver's prize,
 Not everlasting Blackmore this denies;
 No noise, no stir, no motion canst thou make,
 The unconscious stream sleeps o'er thee like a lake.
 Next plunged a feeble but a desperate pack,
 With each a sickly brother at his back:
 Sons of a day! just buoyant on the flood,
 Then numbered with the puppies in the mud.
 Ask ye their names? I could as soon disclose
 The names of these blind puppies as of those.
 Fast by, like Niobe (her children gone)
 Sits Mother Osborne, stupefied to stone!
 And monumental brass this record bears,
 ' These are,—ah, no! these were—the Gazetteers!'" †

The brawling patriots of the several rival *Mercuries* appear to have adapted the violence of the tone of their diatribes and furibund invectives to the urgency of their need and expectation of being bought up.

" Hear brazen trumpets, through the land proclaim
 That not to be corrupted is the shame.
 In soldier, churchman, patriot, man in power,
 'Tis avarice all,—ambition is no more.
 See all our nobles begging to be slaves,
 See all our fools aspiring to be knaves." ‡

The Annotator of "*The Dunciad*," * referring to the *Daily Gazetteers*, says: "The *Daily Gazetteer* was a title given, very properly, to certain papers, each of which lasted but a day. Into this, as a common sink, was received all the trash which had been before dis-

* Pope's "*Dunciad*." Edited by Rev. H. F. Carey, p. 140.

† "*The Dunciad*," Book II.

‡ Pope's "*Epilogue to the Satires*," Ed. Lon., 1859. P. 119.

persed in several journals, and circulated at the public expense of the nation. The authors were the same obscure men; though sometimes relieved by occasional essays from statesmen, courtiers, bishops, deans, and doctors. The meaner sort were rewarded with money; others with places or benefices, from a hundred to a thousand a year. It appears from a report of the Secret Committee for inquiring into the conduct of R., Earl of A., that fifty thousand seventy-seven pounds eighteen shillings were paid to authors and printers of newspapers, such as *Free-Britons*, *Daily Courants*, *Corn-Cutter's Journals*, *Gazetteers*, and other political papers, between February 10th, 1731, and February 10th, 1741.*

Defoe's "Review," commenced in 1407, is erroneously stated in Collier's "History of English Literature" (Lon. Post 8vo., 1861), to be the first English serial.

THE ESSAYS OF THE EARLY PART OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY THE PRECURSORS OF MAGAZINES.

Periodical papers, devoted to elegant literature and popular instruction, exhibiting pictures of the manners of the age, constitute a species of literary composition, the origin of which is not justly claimed for England.†

* Pope's "Poems." Ed. by H. F. Cary. Royal 8vo, 1859. P. 157.

† Prior to the "Essays" of Steele and Addison the Italians had their "Cortigiano" of Castiglione, and the "Galateo" of De La Casa. The Spaniards, a little later, had their "Cartas Eruditas Curiosas," and their "Teatro Critico Universal Impugnando, O Reduciendo A Dudosos Varias Opiniones Communes," of Da Fray Benito Jeronimo Feijoo, and long previously, the "Discursos," "Tratados," "Cartas," and "Lecrillos Burlescos" of Don Francisco de Quevedo, who died in 1645.

They were first published in England by Steele, and received the earliest polish and permanent interest at the hands of Addison.

Miscellanies existed before the time of Swift and Pope, but the Magazines did not. Pope boasts of having lent his name to *Miscellanies*. Swift ridicules a number of people combining their talents to produce them :—

“ When they have joined their perioranies,
Out skips a book of *Miscellanies*.”

In the time of Steele and Addison, Italy and France were not destitute of Essays, published periodically, elevated to elegant literature, and amusement, and instruction, exhibiting pictures of the manners of the time, and rescuing periodical composition from the dirt and mire of politics and polemics.

The “Tatler” and “Spectator” certainly diffused a taste for periodical literature of that kind to an extent that was never reached in any other country. The English Essays gave a new direction to national taste. In fact, the popular effects produced by these papers was unequalled in the history of literature. Budgell states that twenty thousand of the “Spectator” have been sold in one day.

The Essayists, who made their first appearance in English Literature in the early part of the eighteenth century, contributed mainly to acquire for that era the designation of the Augustan Age of English Literature. The earliest of these periodical essays was the

"Tatler," projected and originated by Sir Richard Steele. The aim and object of the Essayists was "to bring philosophy out of closets and libraries, schools and colleges, to dwell in clubs and assemblies, at tea-tables and in coffee-houses," as we are told by Addison.

In the words of Johnson, always just, clear, and comprehensive, their design and mission was "to teach the minuter decencies and inferior duties, to regulate the practice of daily conversation, to correct those depravities, which are rather ridiculous than criminal, and remove those grievances which, if they produce no lasting calamities, impress hourly vexation, was first attempted by Casa, in his 'Book of Manners,' and his 'Castiglione,' in his 'Courtier,' &c." But neither of their productions, nor those of Montaigne and Bacon could, properly speaking, be called periodical publications. The merit of the original design and execution of the latter project belong wholly to Sir Richard Steele, who was born in Dublin in 1671. He commenced "The Tatler" the 12th of April, 1709. It came to an end in January, 1711. Addison wrote some of the papers of "The Tatler," and in conjunction with Steele, "The Spectator" was established and carried on, and subsequently "The Guardian."

Before the appearance of "The Tatler" and "Spectator," there was no periodical publication of a similar kind in England, Scotland, or Ireland, devoted to the refinement, reformation, or improvement of "the minor morals" of society, of manners, behaviour, conversation,

or civilities of common life. The Essays of Steele, Addison, Johnson, and Goldsmith differed essentially from their periodical predecessors, the *Mercuries* of the Commonwealth, and the *Revolution* of 1688. They were not conveyancers of, or commentators on, political intelligence, or purveyors of slander, calumny and defamation; in the words of Hughes, one of the occasional writers in "The Tatler," the design of the Essays in it was, "a wholesome project for making wit useful."

"The Tatler" claimed to be a censor of propriety. "The Spectator" aspired to still higher eminence as an *arbiter elegantiarum*. "The Rambler," of Dr. Johnson, aimed at grander objects, and occupied a more exalted position, as a teacher of the higher morals, philosophy, and virtue than either.

"The Tatler," "Spectator," "Guardian," "Rambler," and "Citizen of the World," occupied a middle place between the *Mercuries* and *Gazettes* of the Commonwealth and the *Revolution*, and "The Observator" and "Rehearsal" of Lesley.

DATES OF ORIGIN AND TERMINATION OF THE WORKS OF THE
BRITISH ESSAYISTS OF THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

	Originated by	Commenced in	Ended
"The Tatler" ...	Steele and Bickerstaff	April 1709 ...	January 1711.
"The Spectator" ...	Addison	March 1710 ...	December 1714.
"The Guardian" ...	Steele	March 1712 ...	October 1713.
"The Rambler" ...	Johnson	March 1750 ...	March 1752.
"The Adventurer"	Hawkesworth and Johnson	Nov. 1752 ...	March 1754.
"The Idler" ...	Johnson	April 1758 ...	March 1760.
"The Citizen of the World"	Goldsmith	Jan. 1760 ...	March 1768
"The Bee"	Goldsmith	— 1759	Nov. 1759

England has many literary men to be proud of, though, not perhaps so many as she imagines, but she has some that she may reasonably and justly be proud of, as much so, if not more than any other country can boast of. She has Shakspeare, and Samuel Johnson, and Addison, and Charles Lamb, men not only to be admired, but loved—remembered as writers “not of an age, but for all time.” Of all these, Addison, in all probability, did most to civilize, to improve the minor morals, the manners, and tastes of his countrymen. If any one doubts that statement, let him read the chapter of Thackeray’s admirable “Humourists of the Eighteenth Century” on Congreve and Addison. But let it not be forgotten that Addison, in all probability, would never have been heard of as an Essayist, if an Irishman of the name of Steele had not planned, originated, and carried into effect “The Tatler.”

Steele contributed largely to the reformation of the manners—“the minor morals”—of his time. And he too, with all his weaknesses, peccadilloes, imprudence, and shortcomings in society, was one of the most amiable, gentle, kindly-disposed, lovable of creatures.

Another and a later Essayist, Goldsmith, one likewise successful in his vocation as a teacher, lay preacher, and civilizer of the manners of his time, was cast in the same mould, and born in the same land as Steele. “Who,” says Thackeray, “of the millions whom he has amused, does not love Goldsmith? To be the most beloved of English writers, what a title is that for a man.”*

* “English Humourists,” p. 293.

"The Memoirs of Sir Richard Steele," by Henry R. Montgomery, recently published, afford the first attempt to rescue the memory of Steele from the injustice that has been done to it by Macaulay and many others.

The *crime* of being an Irishman had a great deal to do with the depreciation of the merits of Steele. Swift had too much genius—greatness of intellectual power—to be depreciated on that account. Swift had not a style of his own, but a variety of excellencies, which raised him far above all the Essayists of his time, but beyond the malice or injustice of the critics of ours. It has been truly said of the British Essayists, "With all their merits it must be admitted they had no force or greatness of fancy, and little pathos or enthusiasm. Gleams of pleasantry and sparkles of wit glitter through their compositions, but you will look in vain for the blaze of imagination or the flash of genius. In one respect, at least, they have never been surpassed. Their style was incomparable. Easy, graceful, clear, and precise—its exquisite finish and flexibility contrast favourably with the vagueness and verbosity of the standard writers of our day. A general sameness pervaded the others. Addison and Steele could not often be distinguished in thought and style by their own friends. Many papers in the "Tatler," and "Spectator" were even attributed to both, while Swift, with all his efforts to conceal, was always picked out at the coffee-houses."

Steele was born in 1663. "He married in 1707, and started the 'Tatler' soon after—the precursor of

modern periodical English Literature. Addison then filled the office of Irish Chief Secretary, and when he saw the first number, he detected the pen of his friend in 'Isaac Bickerstaff,' a pseudonym first adopted by Swift in his famous controversy with Astrologer Partridge. Addison, while in Ireland, contributed some numbers, which good-natured Steele acknowledged with his habitual unselfishness — 'I was undone by my auxiliary. When I had once called him in, I could not subsist without dependence on him.' Swift, Congreve, and others of less note, aided Steele, but in consequence of a political diversion in favour of his Whig friends he lost his gazetteership, and the 'Tatler,' to the great regret of the town, came to an end. In 1711 he started the more celebrated 'Spectator,' and afterwards the 'Guardian.' Broken down by pecuniary embarrassment, he died at Caermarthen, in 1721, in his fifty-eighth year."

CHAPTER II.

EARLY PRINTING IN IRELAND.

1551—1641.

To determine the true character of periodicals of both kinds—newspapers and literary miscellany ones—is often no easy matter. It is in fact exceedingly difficult to distinguish from those literary periodicals, consisting of collections of essays, or extracts from books of travels, or works of imagination of other countries, designated “Monitors,” “Miscellanies,” and “Museums,” those early newspapers of ours, of four or more pages (small square 4to.), called “Intelligencers,” “Mercuries,” “Miscellanies,” “Gazettes,” “Diurnals,” “Flying Posts,” “Public Advertisers,” “Newes from Ireland,” “Newes out of Ireland,” “Pamphlets of Newes,” &c.

In the data furnished in the preceding details, as far as Ireland is concerned, we have a remarkable illustration of the effects of colonial government on the mind of

a people, and all the interests which are connected with it, and dependent on enlightening influences. Once a nation becomes another's, there can be no enlightening influences for it. Having lost its independence, it is of necessity, that a nation must lose the vigour of mind and the intellectual enlightenment that are its natural associates,

In the ninth century Ireland, with one exception, was on a par, in respect to enlightenment, with any country in Europe.

In the twelfth century, when England got possession of Ireland, though it is evident enough the latter country was inferior in power to the former, there is no evidence in the history of either that Ireland's intellectual enlightenment was in any respect inferior to that of England.

But in the course of four centuries of English rule in Ireland, we find its terrible effects had been so baneful on the minds of the ill-fated people of the country, ravaged rather than governed by its invaders and retainers, that the degradation of their nature had become deplorable enough almost to justify the observation of South, "Whereas, before they bore the image of God—they now retain the image of men."

The table of the dates of the origin of printing in various European countries, which I have placed before my readers, lends its aid to the illustration of the fact I have referred to. From 1470 to 1474, we find the art of printing had got into successful operation in

various towns and cities of the continent; but it was not till 1551 it found its way into Ireland, and that the first book, the Book of Common Prayer, was printed in Dublin, seventy-seven years after the first book was printed by Caxton at Westminster, in 1474.

A great deal of condensed useful information, relating to the origin and progress of the British newspaper press, is to be found in a work entitled "The Newspaper Press of the Present Day, its Birth and Growth," &c. (published in 1860, by Saunders and Otley). As usual, however, unfortunately in dealing with matters of Irish history in England, we find in the work referred to, evidence of that singular repugnance which prevails so extensively to research for information on them, except from English sources, or Irish ones that are known in England to treat of them from an English point of view.

The author of the work above referred to is evidently a shrewd and clever writer, who, no doubt, had accurate knowledge about public affairs, and curious occurrences in Kamtschatka, Seringapatam, or Madagascar, but was quite unacquainted, nevertheless, with the date of the introduction of printing into Ireland. Ireland had a newspaper fifteen years before the date he assigns to its origin. As the introduction of printing into Ireland was seventy-seven years later than in England, so was the application of that discovery to periodical newspaper literature in the two countries in nearly a similar ratio of interval between them, an interval of upwards of sixty years.

In England, once that printing was an established fact, it is surprising how mental activity was stimulated, by its facilities for intellectual intercourse, to an excessive energy, that amounted almost to an exorbitant vigour, and a vivacity that bordered on frenzy, in the production, especially, of the papers called "Mercuries."

A work, very remarkable for the abundance of accurate information relating to early printing in England which is to be found in it, but not for that literary taste and tact which gives a lively interest to any subject it deals with, however dry and desultory it may be—has aided me to a small extent in my researches in relation to Early Printing in Ireland. It is thus entitled: "Typographical Antiquities, being an Historical Account of Printing in England: with some Memoirs of Antient Printers, and a Register of the Books printed by them, from the year 1471 to 1600, A.D., with an Appendix concerning printing in Scotland and Ireland" (in 4to., by Joseph Ames, F.R.S., Secretary to the Society of Antiquaries. London, 1749).

In this standard English work of Typographical Antiquities, the History of Early Irish Printing is dispatched in two pages and a quarter, which is here given *in extenso*.

"The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church of England (Dubliniæ: In officinæ Humfredi Poweli. Cum Privilegio ad Imprimendum solum, Anno Domini 1551. In Black Letter. Large 4to).

"Next I had recourse to the large library of Dr. Worth, a late eminent physician here, who was exceedingly curious in collecting ancient pieces, but there I found but one printed here so early as even 1633. Lastly, on perusing the Catalogue of the College Library, I found, within the period by you limited, but that one individual book, as above recited. The truth is, printing is but of a very late date in Ireland. There were indeed some few authors within that period, but their works were printed abroad, as in England, France, Flanders, Italy, &c. Even down to 1700, very few books were printed here, but whatever was written here was generally printed in London; even now the printing trade here consists chiefly in reprinting books printed in London, and they that value their reputation generally send their writings there to be printed.

"And this is all the satisfaction in my power to give thy friend on that account."

To the preceding brief extract from Dr. Rutty's letter, Ames adds the following observations:

"At this time, 1749, there is very good printing carried on there (in Ireland). The books, said to be printed in Waterford, referred to in my General History, are thought to be privately printed books of that perilous time."

One of them dated "7 Nov., 1555, Dedicated to the Noble and Charitable Christen Laytie of England. By John Olde."

Ames, in the body of his work, where this book is

referred to, inserts the words of the impress, which he omits in the Appendix, and which the publisher in *extenso* of Dr. Ruttý's letter in the "Anthologia Hibernica," vol. i., p. 47, gives in the following words:

"Neatly printed in black letter, with the quotations in italics, and the following colophon in Roman characters — 'Emprinted in Waterford, the 7th day of November, 1555.'"

The other Ames speaks of as "An Epistle written by John Scory, the late Bishop of Chichester, addressed unto all the faithful that be in Pryson in Englande" (12mo. Waterford, 1551).

"When John Franckton," continues Ames, "began printing I don't know, but the first book (of his printing) I have met with is: The Irish Book of Common Prayer, in folio, printed by Franckton, in the Irish character, in 1608 (yet the Dedication to the Lord Deputy, Sir Arthure Chichester, by William, Archbishop of Tuam, is dated the 20th of October, 1609), in possession of Mr. Calamy.

The next Irish printed work mentioned by Ames:—

"A Compendious Collection and briefe abstract of all the auncient *English* statutes (from the beginning of Magna Charta), which are now in force within this Kingdome of Ireland by virtue of an Act of Parliament, made at Drogheda, in the tenth year of the reign of Henry VII. Meete to be known and observed amongst all good subjects of this Kingdome of Ireland, set forth under sundry apt titles. Per J. M. De

Societate Interioris Templi, London. Ac Feodarium Provinciæ Conatii in Hibernia. Imprinted at Dublin by John Franckton, printer to the King's Majestie. *Cum Gratia et Privilegio* (and at the end) 1617.

"I have observed," continues Ames, "John Franckton was printer to the King for Ireland in 1618 : see several proclamations; and also Barham Thornton and John Bell; the same year Felix Kingston, deputy printer for the King at Dublin—1619 and 1620. The Company of Stationers of London were printers to the King's most excellent Majesty at Dublin, by which company was set forth John Franckton's right to print all manner of books, statutes, grammars, almanacs, Acts of Parliament, proclamations, injunctions, Bibles and books of the New Testament, forbidding all others, of what nation soever, but him (John Franckton), Felix Kingston, and Thomas Downs.

"Prices of books, as settled by the assignees and patentees for the Stationers' Company, were about a quarter more at Dublin (where Melchior Van Pelkem was post master the 9th of February, 1618) than at London, occasioned, I suppose, by the expense of conveyance." *

That is the whole of the account of early Irish printing that is to be found in the first edition of Ames' "Typographical Antiquities—a standard work, be it born in mind, on the subject of early British printing, and very meagre that account is, it must be acknowledged.

* Ames's "Typographical Antiquities," Lon. 4to., 1749. First Edition, pp. 596, 597. Appendix.

The high character of the distinguished Irish Quaker physician, Dr. Rutty, moral, intellectual, and professional, and it might be added, literary, was probably unknown to Ames, and that may be the reason he has only given extracts, and scanty extracts, too, from his letter to the friend of Ames in reply to his application for information on the subject of Early Irish Printing.

With respect to the extracts from Dr. Rutty's letter, inserted by Ames, I have to observe that all antiquarians have a tendency to underrate the importance of all archæological researches which have no special reference to the place or subject which is the immediate object of their antiquarian inquiries. Like the Spanish chroniclers of the *res gestæ* of the illustrious men of the several cities they undertook to immortalize, English typographical antiquarians are too disposed to exaggerate the importance of the researches which have reference to the One City, that is, the capital of England, which is the centre of all their interest in typographical antiquity, and too little desirous to trouble themselves with anything appertaining to it, which does not concern the honour and glory of their own capital or country.

Hence, probably, it is, that Ames declines to publish *in extenso* the communication of Dr. Rutty in relation to Early Irish Printing.

In the best of Irish magazines, "The Anthologia Hibernica," for January, 1793 (pages 47-50) there is an article headed, "Printing in Ireland," "From Herbert's edition (of 1785) of Ames' Typographical Antiquities, vol. 3, page 152." (Much augmented).

And then follows, "Extract of a letter from Dr. Rutty, dated June 20th, 1744, to Dr. William Clark of London."

All the passages I have cited in the extracts published in the appendix to Ames' *Typographical Antiquities*, are to be found in Herbert's edition of the same work, but there are two important omissions which I now supply.

With respect to the "compendious collection of all the Ancient English Statutes," in force in Ireland, published in virtue of an Act of Parliament, made in the tenth year of Henry VII., 1496, all the valuable matter omitted, is supplied in the letter of Rutty, published in "*The Anthologia Hibernica*," and which is essential to be known, to understand the antecedents of Sir Richard Bolton's collection, printed, in folio, in Dublin, 1621.

Sir Henry Sydney (who filled the office of Lord Deputy, from September, 1692, to May, 1695, first Baron and Viscount Sydney, afterwards Earl of Romney) ordered all the Statutes enacted in Ireland, from their prime institution down to his own time, to be collected, and published in print (to the great benefit of the whole nation).

"That they were printed accordingly is seen by Vowel's *Epistle Dedicatory*, in the following article. Sir Richard Bolton, Lord Chief Baron of Ireland, in a new edition of the statutes enacted in Ireland (first collected and printed by Sir Henry Sydney), which was

printed in Dublin, in folio, in 1621, is said to have supplied several defects in the former edition.

“The Dedicatory Epistle above referred to, of John Vowel, is then cited.

“The order and usage of keeping of the Parliaments in England, collected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gentleman, is thus inscribed:

“To the Right Honorable and very good Lord William FitzWilliam, Knight Lord Deputy of Ireland, John Vowel, alias Hooker, with all humbleness and due reverence, wisheth a happy success and a prosperous government to the increase of God’s honor in true religion, the Queen’s Majestie’s service in due obedience, and the administration of the public welth in justice, equity, and judgment.

“In which epistle, after mentioning the good and wholesome laws which though with great wisdom, and for the preservation of the common-wealth, were devised, yet being laid up in a secret and private place, and neither published nor put in execution, great disorders and continual rebellions have growen dayly thereby; which great evils and inormities growing by them, the Queene’s Majestie of her goodness and by the advice of her prudent governors, in this land, hath for redresse caused, commanded, and willed all those wholesome laws and statutes of this land to be imprinted, &c., to be dispersed throughout the whole land, so that ignorance by knowledge, and disobedience, by loyaltie, being banished and chased out of this land, each man dutifully

doth yield himself loyally to Her Highness and obedient to her lawes, these being the only means and remedies to make a prosperous government and a happy commonwelth."

" Dated the 3rd of October, 1572.

" The author had been a burgess in the Irish Parliament, held at Dublin in January, 1568-9, before Sir Henry Sidney, Lord Deputy, in which there had been great commotion for want of order and regularity.

" Whereupon motion and request was made to the speaker, that such disorderly behaviour might be reformed, who not only promised to do so, but also praied advice and counsel for his doings therein, of such as were acquainted with the order of parliaments in England, which was promised by our author, and that a book of such order of parliaments in England, should in time be set forth in print.

" He came over into England accordingly, and was chosen member for Exeter, in the parliament held in Westminster the 13th of Elizabeth, 1571.

" And beeing thus placed in that honorable assembly, I thought it a most fitt time for the acquittall of my said promise, wherefore diligently I did observe, consider, and mark all maner of orders, usages, rites, ceremonies, and other circumstances, which either I saw with eye or found registered among the records of that assembly. And having written the same, I did then confer with the exemplars and precedentes of the olde and auncieant

parliaments used in tymes past, within the said realme of England, whereof I found two, the one was that which King Edgar (or as some say King Edward the Confessor) used; the other which was in use in the time of King Edward I. The former as well for antiquitie's sake, as also for a precedent to the good government in those years, I have annexed to these presents. The other in some things agreeable, and in many thing disagreeable, both from the first to the last I have omitted.

“That which is now in use being that which is only to be followed and used.

“After this dedication follows: ‘The olde and ancient order of keeping of the parlement in England, used in the time of King Edward the confessor.’ This order extends to eight leaves.

“Then follows:—‘The order and usage how to keep a parliament in England in those days, collected by John Vowel, alias Hooker, gentleman, one of the citizens for the Citie of Exeter, at the parliament holden in Westminster, Anno Domini 1571, and Elizabethæ Regina, 13.’

“This treatise extends to 31 pages, it has been reprinted by Holinshed in his chronicles of Ireland, and inserted in them under date 1586. Annexed to the order are:—‘The names of all such personages as ought to appear, and be in the parlement. In the higher house what they be who ought to be there. In the lower house also, &c.’

“This book has neither printer's name, nor date of printing. However the singularity of some of the types

and the repeated expressions of 'this land, &c.,' in the dedication make it highly probable that it was printed in Ireland."

A further omission of matter in Ames' First Edition, in relation to Irish printing, is the following passage:—"William Farmer wrote an almanack for Ireland, printed in Dublin, 1587, which I mention as being perhaps the earliest almanack published in, or for that country."

At the end of Harris's edition of Ware's Ireland, Vol. 3, mention is made of two early Dublin books, viz:—The Dublin Almanack, by Wm. Farmer, 4to. Dublin, 1587, and Sir William Ussher's Instructions to his Children, 4to. Dublin, 1604.

With respect to the two books said to be printed in Waterford, in 1555, referred to in the extracts from Dr. Rutty's letter, published by Ames, in the appendix to the first edition of his work, I have to call attention to the following omitted passage, supplied from the same source as the preceding omissions :

"The two following books, purporting to have been printed at Waterford, are thought to have been privately printed in England, having no assurance of any press being set up so early in Waterford. Besides it must have been dangerous, printing those books openly there during Queen Mary's reign, as it was in England. Therefore they may more properly belong to our general history. However we have given them a place here, one of them bearing the superscription, and the other having the same types, on the authority of Maunsell."

So much for the information Ames was able to procure in Ireland of early Irish printing. But valuable collections of early Irish periodical literature, since the time of Ames' researches, have turned up, that were not then made, or known to exist, and especially the Thorp collection of early printed tracts and periodicals, now deposited in the Library of the Royal Dublin Society. Those collections of the Society, and of Trinity College Library, contain a great deal of information that was not accessible to Ames or his correspondents.

These defects it is the object of the author of this work to endeavour to supply.

The first book printed in Ireland, according to Bishop Mant (see his "History of the Church,") was "The Booke of Common Prayer," published in Dublin in 1551, in 4to.

I have lately sought for this rare volume in the Library of the Dublin University, and was fortunate enough to find it there.

The book of Common Prayer, which appeared in 1551, is printed in black letter, 4to size, and contains 140 pages, in the last of which we read:

"Imprinted by Humfrey Powell, printer to the Kings Majesty, in his Highnesses Realme of Ireland, dwelling in the cittee of Dublin, in the great toure by the crane, *Cum Privilegium ad imprimendum solum*, Anno Domini, M.D.L.I."

The crane stood, we are informed by Gilbert, between the old bridge and that part of Essex street which leads to Crane lane.

Bishop Mant, Lord Bishop of Down and Connor, in his "History of the Church of Ireland," (2nd Ed., Lon. Royal 8vo., 1840, in 2 vols.), states (vol. i. p. 192), that "on the 10th of February, 1551, an order was addressed to the Lord Deputy, Sir Anthony St. Leger, for introducing the same Liturgy as that which had been undertaken and composed (in the vernacular language) into all the churches of Ireland." Archbishop Dowdall was then Primate.

Bishop Mant then proceeds, at p. 205 of the same volume, to give an account of the printing of this "first book printed in Dublin, in 1551,"—he might have said the first book printed in Ireland.

The Bishop mentions the existence of a copy of this rare work in Trinity College Library, and says, "It is doubted by the Rev. James Henthorne Todd, the learned librarian of Trinity College, Dublin, whether there be another copy in existence"

When the printing of the work was completed, Sir Anthony St. Leger had ceased to be Lord Deputy. At the end of the volume is a prayer for the new deputy, "Sir James Croft, now Governour over this Realm, under our most dread and sovereign Lord, Edward the Sixth."

Waterford, according to Archdeacon Cotton ("Typographical Gazetteer," Oxford, 8vo., 1831. P. 321), is said to be "one of the earlier receptacles of typography on account of two books of the year 1555, which have been assigned to this city by Ames, and repeated by

Herbert, upon the authority of Maunsell's Catalogue. The first of these two rare productions, both of which are to be found in the Bodleian Library, is entitled, 'The Acquittal, or Purgation of the most Catholyke Christen Prince, Edward VI., Kinge of Englande, Fraunce, and Ireland, &c., and of the Church of England, Reformed and Governed under Hym against all such as blasphemously and traitorously infame Hym or the said Church of heresie or sedicion' (written by John Olde, an exile for the Protestant religion, under Queen Mary). It contains signature G in eights, and has in the *recto* of the last leaf, 'Emprinted at Vuaterford, the 7th day of Novembre, 1555.'"

"The other is entitled, 'An Epistle, by John Scory, the late Bishop of Chichester, unto all the Faythful that be in Pryson in Englande or in any other Trouble for the Defence of Goddes Truthe.' This small tract, in two sheets in eights, has no other colophon than this: 'Anno, 1555.' But the letter, paper, and press-work exactly correspond to those of John Olde's work above mentioned, and the two were unquestionably executed at the same time and place.

"*That place, however, was not Waterford, nor, I fear, can we claim for that city so early an acquaintance with the mysteries of printing. At what period the art was introduced I am not yet sufficiently prepared to say. . . .*

"I should not omit to mention that in the Catalogue of Trinity College Library, in Dublin, occurs a third

Waterford book of this period. It is entered as Archbishop Cranmer's 'Confutation of unwritten Verities' (8vo., Waterford, 1555). This little tract, however, is not to be found in the Library, having disappeared, probably with other literary treasures, which were purloined from the Library by a confidential servant a few years ago."

I must, however, observe, that Archdeacon Cotton assigns no reason for the opinion he has expressed, that none of the works he refers to with the colophon "Printed at Waterford in 1555," issued from a press at so early a period, except that these works had not been seen by him. It is infinitely more difficult to comprehend how that early date got into one at least of the colophons of these works, than to understand the improbability of any valuable books in a country ravaged, plundered, desolated, and confiscated, thrice over in less than two centuries, like Ireland, preserving valuable books that would bring a large price in England or on the continent.

And in the second edition of his work, Archdeacon Cotton says, in reference to Ames' mention of the two books printed in Waterford in 1555, repeated by Herbert on the same authority of Maunsell, neither of them in his opinion were printed in Waterford.

He cannot say when printing was introduced there, but thinks it cannot have been long previously to 1641. In that year the Pope's Legate, Rinuccini, established printing presses at Waterford and Kilkenny.*

* Dr. Cotton's "Typographical Gazetteer," 2nd Ed., p. 320.

Irish typographical literature, however, is greatly indebted to the labours of this enlightened dignitary of the Established Church in Ireland, Dr. Cotton, an English gentleman of great learning, and what is better of great worth. It is indebted to him for the discovery of "*a Book of Articles*, put forth by the authority of the Lord Deputy, the Archbishops and Bishops, and others, Her Majesty's High Commissioners, for causes in the same realm, which were to be publicly read by the Clergy at their possession taking, and twice every year afterwards. Printed in Dublin in 1566."

Of this publication the contemporary historians give no account, and of its existence nothing in our times was known, till it was discovered by Archdeacon Cotton, in a collection of rare pamphlets relating to Ireland, known as the Thorp Collection, in the Library of the Royal Dublin Society.

The following is an exact transcript of the title: —
"A Breefe Declaration of certain Principall Articles of Religion: set out by order and authoritie as well of the Right Honorable Sir Henry Sidney, Knight of the most noble order, Lord President of the Councel in the Principallitie of Wales, and Marches of the same, and General Deputy of this Realme of Ireland, as by the Archbishops, and Bishops, and other Her Majesty's High Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the same Realme.

"*Imprynted* at Dublin, by Humfrey Powell, the 20th of January, 1566."

"The title is printed within a wood-cut border, the sides of which are the same as those used in the title-page of the Prayer Book of 1551, and the top and bottom consist of two flowered initials."

Dudley Loftus, in the manuscript collections made by him, says—a Convocation of the Protestant Bishops had been held in Ireland in 1560—"This year was held a Convocation of Bishops, at the Queen's command, for establishing the Protestant religion."

Dr. Elrington, however, labours to prove, but ineffectually, that the meeting referred to was not a regular Convocation, but only a Synod. He says: "In the year 1615, a Convocation of the Irish Clergy, formed after a model of the Irish Convocation, assembled in Dublin. This seems to have been the first Convocation assembled in Dublin." *

The English Liturgy was accepted by the Irish Prelates and Clergy in 1560.

Archdeacon Cotton, in his "*Fasti Ecclesiæ Hibernicæ*," or "The Succession of the Prelates and Members of the Cathedral Bodies of Ireland" (2nd Edition. Dub., 1851, in five vols., 8vo.) makes mention of the first book printed in the Irish character in 1571. (See Vol. v. Pref. *Fasti Eccles. Hib.*)

This exceedingly rare work, Kearney's "Irish Catechism," we find made mention of at p. 123, vol. ii., under date 1571, "John Kearney, Treasurer at this time, shared with his friend Walsh, the Chancellor, the

* Elrington's "*Life of Ussher*," p. 88.

credit of introducing Irish types. He composed 'The Catechism,' published this year (1571), which is the first book printed in the Irish language. He is also said to have made a translation of the Bible, which was extant in the time of Sir James Ware, and was buried in the cathedral." He died about 1600.

And at p. 116, same volume, Archdeacon Cotton says further: "This Catechism was printed by the two fellow-labourers in this year (1571) in small 16mo., which is the first specimen of Irish type. It is now exceedingly rare. A copy of it is preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford.

In O'Connor's "*Rerum Hibernicarum Scriptores*," vol. 1 (prolegomena Index to part 2), reference is made to the catechism in the Irish language, first printed in Ireland, and the following note is made:—"Primus Liber Hibernicis characteribus ibidem editus est a Johanne Kearney, regnante Elisabetha, annum circiter, 1571."

A catechism translated into Irish is also mentioned in Harriss' "*Irish Writers*," page 98.

"Errare videntur qui asserunt Liturgiam Hibernicæ Anno 1566, neque locum indicare mihi potuit Ritsonis ubi dicebatur, ut Amesius ait." Indeed we are not told where it was printed, nor whether in the Irish character or not. Ibid. et supra, ii. 22, 77.

Half a century later other efforts were made to make known Protestant doctrines to the people of Ireland, through the medium of the Irish language.

A German named De Renzi, who in 1622 obtained a royal grant of upwards of 1000 acres of the forfeited lands in the King's County, a great traveller and general linguist, as it is stated on his monument in Athlone, acquired celebrity by composing "a grammar, dictionary, and chronicle in the Irish language."*

This person, who communicated more with the natives than the lords of the pale were in the habit of doing, died in 1634.

What became of the grammar, dictionary, and chronicle, in the Irish language, composed by De Renzi, appears to be unknown.

Some curious information is given with respect to the printing of the Irish catechism in 1571, by Mr. Gilbert, in that great store house of facts relating to the Irish capital, Dublin, "The History of Dublin." Vol. 1., page 381.

"At the bridge foot contiguous to the south western extremity of the old bridge, was the residence of a branch of the family of Ussher, a name rendered illustrious throughout the learned world, by the writing of James Ussher, primate of all Ireland, in the reign of Charles the first.

"One of the Usshers of Bridge-street, who was Mayor of Dublin in 1561, we are told by a contemporary of his in a letter to Sir William Cecil, 'was a zealous man in Christ's religion. He desireth to have the costome of Dublin, which is to be letted out Michaelmas next. The city

hath nede of such a one, for here it is yet, catche that catche may.'

"Of this zealous man in Christ's religion, who had a fervent desire for the custom dues of the city of Dublin (where the zealous men of English descent of Christ's religion had, and continue to have, great faith in that policy, that we find was so generally acted on—'catche that catche may') we are told as follows:

"To the munificence and religious zeal of John Ussher we owe the publication of the first book ever printed in the Irish language, which was issued in 1571." This book was entitled "The Irish Alphabet and Catechism, precept or instruction of a christian, together with certain articles of a christian faith, which are proper for every one to adopt, who would be submissive to the ordinance of God and the Queen of this Kingdon. Translated from Latin and English into Irish, by John O'Kearney."

"Awake, why sleepest thou! Arise, cast us not out for ever." Psalm 44, v. 23. "Printed in the town of the Ford of Hurdles, Dublin, at the cost of Master John Ussher, Alderman, at the head of the bridge, the 20th of June, 1571, with the privilege of the Great Queen, 1571."*

Dr. Elrington, referring to this rare if not unique tract (consisting only of eight leaves), in his life of Archbishop Ussher, says:

* Gilbert's "History of Dublin," vol. i., p. 385.

“John Ussher, at whose cost this Irish catechism was printed in 1771, was succeeded by his son, Sir William Ussher, clerk of the council, in whose house was executed the printing of the first Irish version extant of the New Testament, with the following title:

“The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, faithfully translated from the Greek into the Irish, by William O'Donnell. Printed in the town of the Hurdles, Dublin, in the house of Master William Ussher, at the foot of the bridge, by John Francke, 1602.”*

Sir William Ussher, clerk of the council, died in 1657, and was succeeded by his grandson, William Ussher, of the bridge foot, who died in 1671, leaving a son Christopher, who was succeeded by his son William, by the decease of whose sons without issue, the family of Ussher of the bridge foot and Usshers quay, in the male line became extinct.

The progenitors of the Ussher and Molyneux families were alike distinguished for their enlightened views and literary tastes and propensities.

They certainly transmitted those tastes and propensities to their descendants, and in none of the latter were they more conspicuous than in Archbishop Ussher primate of all Ireland for 32 years.

The Company of Stationers of Dublin, are thus spoken of in a letter of Archbishop Ussher to Mr. William Camden, dated from Dublin, June 8, 1618:

* Gilbert's History of Dublin. Vol. 1. page 305.

"The Company of Stationers in London, are now erecting a factory for books and a press here. Mr. Felix Kingston and some others are sent over for that purpose. They begin with the printing of the Statutes of the realm ; afterwards they purpose to fall in hand with my collections, *De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successionibus Et statuta*. I do entreat you of all love to look over the first edition ; and what you find I have mistaken, or what you think may be further added out of the antiquity which you have met with, signify unto me."^{*}

To one of the most learned of our Ecclesiastical Antiquarian Historians, the Rev. Dr. Reeves, I am indebted for the following memorandum :

"In 1661, Archbishop Ussher published in Dublin his *History of Gotteschalcus*, which, in a letter of his to Dr. Ward, he says, was the first Latin book that ever was printed in Ireland, but in this his grace was certainly mistaken ; at least two were printed before."

Sir James Ware printed his work "*Archiepiscoporum Casseliensis, &c.*," in 1626, and "*De Præsulibus Lageniæ*," in 1628.†

James Ussher (Archbishop of Armagh) was born in Dublin in 1580.

At the age of 13 he entered Trinity College, Dublin, which was first opened for the admission of students, the 9th of January, 1593-4.

Ancestors of his had been mainly instrumental in the foundation of that University.

^{*} Elrington's "*Life of Ussher*," p. 123, Note B.

† From Archbishop Ussher's "*Letters*," fol., p. 64.

Dr. Elrington in his life of Archbishop Ussher, Dublin, 8vo., 1848, tells us a great deal of the *Prava Disciplina* of the New University, and of the scandalous appointments of some improper persons, natives of England, made by the Lord Burleigh and others of his party, for the principal places in the New University.

The "*Prava Disciplina*," and the scandalous appointments made in England, continued to the time of Dean Swift, as some inedited letters of the Dean, which the author has seen, clearly prove.

In 1613, Ussher having taken the degree of D.D., and being previously appointed Professor of Divinity in the University of Dublin, "went to London for the purpose of publishing his first London Historical Dissertation on the origin of the Christian churches in the East, and the question of Apostolical succession of their Prelates."*

It may be taken for granted, if Ussher could have got his work printed in Ireland, at least well and cheaply printed there, he would not have gone to London to have it published.

In 1631 he published in Dublin his "*History of Gotteschalculus*," which he speaks of in a letter to Ward as "the first Latin book that ever was printed in Dublin." But in this Dr. Elrington states the Primate was certainly mistaken. At least two (Latin) works, he says, were printed before. Sir James Ware printed his work, "*Archiepiscoporum Casseliensis et Tuamensis Vitæ*," in 1626, and his "*De Presulibus Lageniæ*," in 1628.

* Elrington's "*Life of Arch. Ussher*." p. 84.

In 1614 Ussher was chosen Vice Chancellor of the University of Dublin.

In 1620 he was preferred to the Bishopric of Meath. In 1624 he was appointed Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of all Ireland.

In 1632 the "Prava Disciplina" of Trinity College, Dublin, was manifested in various ways. The Government made matters in the University worse by arbitrary acts. Dr. Elrington says : "It is with great regret I am obliged to record the assistance which the Primate gave to an arbitrary act, violating the privileges of Trinity College, Dublin." The act referred to was, forcing a Provost on the Fellows who was obnoxious to them. A year later, the Primate speaking of these Fellows, describes them as "so factious, that nothing would please them which came from their superiors."

In 1636, the Primate was engaged in a violent contest with Chappell, Provost of T. C. D., and the Senior Fellows, which led to serious and prolonged disturbances.

Dr. Parr, in his "Life of Archbishop Ussher" states, "The Primate went to London at the close of the year 1631, and published there his work on the Religion anciently professed by the Irish and British."

This work, however, had been previously printed, and appended to a Treatise of one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench, Sir C. Sibthorpe. Prior to 1631, he makes mention of the necessity he was in to seek a printer in London for a new work of his, as no printer could be found in Dublin to undertake it.

In 1639 the Primate published in London his "*Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates*."

In 1641 the Primate foreseeing all the calamities of the times in Ireland, took himself to England, having too much reason to fear that his persecuting counsels would be remembered to him. Unlike his friend Bishop Bedel, to whom he proved indeed, in the time of need, a false friend, he fled from his flock and the church he governed, at the first appearance of danger, and never more returned to his see, or to Ireland. When the rebellion broke out, his houses were the first plundered in the country, his tenements were destroyed, his flocks and herds seized. Fortunately his library in his house in Drogheda was preserved, conveyed to Dublin, and thence to London.

Archbishop Ussher during his residence in England, published several works ; he never manifested any desire to return to the scene of his Archiepiscopal duties ; he died at Reigate, in Surrey, the 21st of March, 1656, in the 76th year of his age, and 31st of his Archiepiscopate of Armagh.

It had been the intention of the primate to bequeath his magnificent library, consisting of nearly ten thousand books and manuscripts to Trinity College, Dublin, but the destruction of his property in the calamities of 1641 and 1642 obliged him to change the disposition of his library, and to leave it to a daughter to whom he had nothing else to bequeath.

As soon as it was known this valuable collection was to be sold, the King of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarin became competitors for the purchase of it. But Cromwell forbade the sale without his sanction. Dr. Aikin says the Executors were forbidden by the Protector to dispose of the library, "conceiving as he did that it would be a disgrace to permit such a literary treasure to be sent out of the kingdom."

Dr. Elrington reprobates the excuses made by Dr. Aiken for Cromwell's interfering in the matter. But Cromwell was perfectly justified, in my opinion, in preventing such a literary treasure from being sent out of the kingdom, considering the connection of the Primate with the State and the Church, and the sources from which the wealth came which enabled him to acquire this literary treasure.

No sooner was this known in Ireland than "at the suggestion of some public-minded individuals, the officers and soldiers of the victorious army in Ireland, emulating the generosity of their predecessors in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, subscribed £2,200 in order to present the Library of Ussher to the institution for which it had been originally designed; and the executors were compelled to accept that sum, though much less than what had been previously offered. With the library were given all the Archbishop's MSS., which were not in his own handwriting, and a small but valuable collection of coins. When the Books arrived

in Ireland, the Protector and his son refused to permit their being placed in Trinity College, but kept them in the Castle of Dublin under pretence of reserving them for the library of a new college or hall, which they intended to erect in Dublin. During the confusion which followed the Protector's death, the precious collection was exposed to various depredations, and many books and manuscripts were stolen. On the accession of Charles II., the Library became his property, and was presented by him to Trinity College, Dublin, where it remains a valuable, but a small part of its noble Library, bearing evident traces of the shameful treatment to which it had been exposed." *

Ussher was a man of vast erudition and of great abilities, but all his learning and abilities were badly associated with a fierce spirit of intolerance, a fanatical fervour of animosity that prompted him to preach persecution, and to breathe the same unchristian language of fierce intolerance in his pastorals, in his letters, and in his private conversation. Bayle has denounced his ferocious intolerance in these words: "*Vous remarquerez s'il vous plait qu' Usseus et ses suffragans agirent selon les principes de l'intolerance, la plus sur des maximes d'etat, comme font les intolerans mitigez.*"

About 1620, the Company of Stationers of Dublin printed a Book of Common Prayer, in 4to., which exists in Trinity College Library, Dublin.

* Dr. O. R. Elrington's "*Life of the Most Rev. James Ussher, D.D.*" Dub., 1848. P. 48.

In 1620-1 they printed also Bolton's "Collection of the Statutes."

Some works of a clergyman, of the name of Harris, of which mention is made by Ware, are to be found in the Diocesan Library of Cashel, and have been seen there by the author. One of them is entitled:—

APKTOMASTIE.

"Sive Edmundus Ursulanus propter usurpatum Judicium de Tribunali dejectus: et propter famosum libellum in judicium vocatus: per Paulum Harrisium Presb." (Dublin, 1633, 4to., p. 120).

It appears from other writers that Edmundus Ursulanus was an Irish Franciscan, named Matthews, author of a work entitled "Examen Judicium Censuræ Facultatis Theologiæ Parisii," &c.

The Harris above referred to signed himself "An Englishman" and "an exile."

In another tract of his he mentions that "The Excommunication published by the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Fleming, *alias* Barnewell, Friar of the Order of St. Francis, against the inhabitants of the Diocese of Dublin, for hearing the masses of Peter Caddell, D.D., and Paul Harris, Priest, is proved not only unjust, but of no validity, and consequently binding to no obedience." Second edition, enlarged by me, Paul Harris, Priest (Dublin, 1633, 4to., p. 98). The excommunication is dated March 6th, 1631.

"Fratres Sobrii Estate; or, an Admonition to the Fryars of the Kingdom of Ireland," &c. (by Paul

Harris, Priest, in 1634, 4to., p. 99), beginning with an "Epistle to the Pope."

"Exile Exiled, occasioned by a Mandate, &c., for the Banishment of one Paul Harris out of the Diocese of Dublin" (by Paul Harris, Priest, 4to., 1635, p. 59, and "one leaf to the reader."

In all these P. H. is very severe against the Friars, but his pieces contain numerous and curious points of history, especially the ecclesiastical history of his own time and place of residence in 1635. He describes himself to be aged sixty-three, and to have been an exile from England twenty years. In 1600, he tells us that he was in Spain.

The earliest tracts printed in Ireland, in the collection of the late Charles Halliday, Esq., Dublin, are the following:—

"Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical." Printed by Crooke and Helsham (Dublin, 1634).

"Articles agreed upon by the Prelates, Archbishop," &c. Printed by the Society of Stationers and Printers (Dublin, 1634).

The two preceding publications, I find the subject of a very extraordinary communication of Lord Strafford, while Viceroy of Ireland, to the Archbishop of Canterbury, published in the first volume of Lord Strafford's "Letters," p. 345.

[Fol. Dub. Reilly, Cork Hill, 1740.]

Truly of all the secrets of "the Convention House," these of Lord Strafford's, dealing with the Canons and

Constitution of his Church, and the framers of them, are the most astounding.

THE LORD DEPUTY TO THE ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

“ Dublin Castle, December 16th, 1634.

“ In a former letter of mine, I mentioned a way propounded by my Lord Primate how to bring upon the clergy the Articles of England, and silence those of Ireland, without noise, as it were *aliud agens*, which he was confident would pass amongst them.

“ In my last I related unto you how His Grace grew fearful he should not be able to effect it, which awakened me that had rested hitherto secure upon that judgment of his, and had indeed leaned upon that belief so long, as had I not believed myself, though I say it like a man, I had been fatally surprised, to my extreme grief, for as many days as I have to live.

“ The Popish party growing extreme perverse in the Commons House, and the Parliament thereby in great danger to have been lost in a storm, had so taken up all my thoughts and endeavours, that for five or six days it was not almost possible for me to take an account how business went amongst them of the Clergy. Besides, I reposed secure upon the Primate, who all this while said not a word to me of the matter. At length, I got a little time, and that most happily too, informed myself of the state of those affairs, and found that the Lower

House of Convocation had appointed a select committee to consider the Canons of the Church of *England*, that they did proceed in the examination without conferring at all with their Bishops, that they had gone through the Book of Canons, and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an 'A,' and on others they had entered a 'D,' which stood for *deliberandum*; that into the Fifth Article they had brought the Articles of *Ireland* to be allowed and received, under the pain of excommunication, and that they had drawn up their Canons into a body, and were ready that afternoon to make report in the Convocation.

"I instantly sent for Dean Andrews, that reverend clerk, who sat, forsooth, in the chair at this committee, requiring him to bring along the foresaid Book of Canons so noted on the margin, together with the draught he was to present that afternoon to the House; this he obeyed, and herewith I send your Grace both the one and the other.

"But when I came to open the book and run over their *Deliberandums* in the margin, I confess I was not so much moved since I came into *Ireland*. I told him certainly not a Dean of *Limerick*, but an *Ananias*, had sate in the chair at that Committee; however, sure I was, *Ananias* had been there in spirit, if not in body, with all the Fraternities and Conventicles of *Amsterdam*. That I was ashamed and scandalized with it above measure, I therefore said he should leave the book and draught with me, and that I did command him, upon his allegiance,

he should report nothing to the House from that Committee, till he heard again from me.

“ Being thus nettled, I gave present directions for a meeting, and warned the Primate, the Bishops of Meath, Kilmore, Rapho, and Derry, together with Dean Leisley, the Prolocutor, and all those who had been of the Committee (their names I send you herewith also) to be with me the next morning.

“ Then I publicly told them how unlike clergymen that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in their Committee; how unheard a part it was for a few petty Clerks to presume to make Articles of Faith, without the privity or consent of State or Bishop; what a spirit of Brownism and contradistinction I observed in their *Deliberandums*, as if, indeed, they proposed at once to take away all government and order forth of the Church, and leave every man to chuse his own high place, where liked him best. But these heady and arrogant courses they must know I was not to endure, nor if they were disposed to be frantick in this dead and cold season of the year, would I suffer them either to be mad in the Convocation or in their pulpits.

“ First, then, I required Dean Andrews, as formerly, that he should report nothing from the Committee to the House.

“ Secondly, I enjoined Dean Leisley, their Prolocutor, that in case any of the Committee should propound any question herein, yet that he should not put it, but break up the sitting for that time, and acquaint me with all.

“Thirdly, that he should put no question at all, touching the receiving or not of the Articles of the Church of Ireland.

“Fourthly, that he should not put the question for allowing and receiving the Articles of England, wherein he was by name and in writing to take their votes, barely, content or not content, without admitting any other discourse at all, for I would not indure that the Articles of the Church of England should be disputed.

“And, finally, because there should be no question in the Canon that was thus to be voted, I did desire my Lord Primate would be pleased to frame it, and after I had perused it, I would send the Prolocutor a draught of the Canon to be propounded, inclosed in a letter of my own.

“This meeting thus broke off, there were some hot spirits, Sons of Thunder, amongst them, who moved that they should petition me for a free Synod; but in fine they could not agree among themselves, who should put the bell about the cat’s neck, and so this likewise vanished.

“It is very true that for all the Primate’s silence, it was not possible but he knew how near they were to have brought in those Articles of Ireland, to the infinite disturbance and scandal of the Church, as I conceive; and certainly could have been content I had been surprized. But he is so learned a prelate, and so good a man, so I do beseech your Grace it may never be imputed unto him. Howbeit I will always write your Lordship the truth, whomsoever it concerns.

"The Primate accordingly framed a Canon, a copy whereof you have here, which I do not so well approving, drew up one myself, more after the words of the Canon in England, which I hold best for me to keep as close to as I could, and then sent it to my Lord. His Grace came instantly unto me, and told me feared the Canon would never pass in such form as I had made it, but he was hopeful as he had drawn it, it might; besought me therefore to think a little better of it. But I confess having taken a little jealousy that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends I had my eye upon, it was too late now, either to persuade or to affright me. I told his Lordship I was resolved to put it to them in those very words, and was most confident there were not six in the Houses, that would refuse them, telling him by the sequel we should see, whether his Lordship or myself better understood their minds in that point, and by that I would be content to be judged; only for the Order's sake I desired his Lordship would not vote this Canon first in the Upper House of Convocation; and voted them to pass the question beneath also.

"Without any delay, then, I writ a letter to Dean Leisley (the copy whereof likewise send you) with the Canon inclosed, which accordingly that afternoon was unanimously voted, first with the Bishops, and then by the rest of the Clergy, excepting one man; you shall find his name amongst the Committee, who singly did deliberate upon the receiving of the articles of England. . . .

"So much now I can say, the King is as absolute here as any prince in the known world can be, and may be still if it be not spoiled on that side. For so long as his Majesty shall have here a deputy of faith and understanding, and that he be preserved in credit and independant upon any but the King himself, let it be laid as a ground, it is the deputy's fault, if the King be denied any reasonable desire.* . . .

"I remain,

"Your Grace's,

"Most humbly to be commanded,

"WENTWORTH."

"Dublin Castle,

"This 16th December, 1634."

The preceding state document of the Lord Deputy Strafford to the Archbishop of Canterbury, throws most abundant light on the spiritual character of the mode of establishing the Protestant State Church in Ireland, and framing its canons and constitution.

"A Treatise on the authority of the Church," by Leslie, was printed by the Society of Stationers in Dublin in 1637.

* "The Earl of Strafford's Letters and Despatches," &c. By Sir John Malton and Dr. W. Knowler. In two vols., fol. Dub., 1740. Vol. I., p. 342.

"A Justice of the Peace for Ireland," composed by Sir Richard Bolton, Chief Baron of the Court of Exchequer in Ireland, published in 4to., by the Society of Stationers in Dublin, in 1638, is in the Author's library.

It is surprising, even to those well acquainted with the mind-degrading influences of government in Ireland of the English Pale, how little use was made of the press in this country for upwards of a century by the Government and the English of the Pale.

Of the impediments to early printing in Ireland, some account is to be found in Theophilus O'Flanagan's paper on The Ancient Language of Ireland, in "The Transactions of the Gaelic Society" (8vo. Dublin, 1808, p. 212).

"The ancient language of Ireland underwent the cultivation of several successive ages, and was brought to a degree of perfection surpassing even that of the elegant rotundity of the Greek phraseology. The fact would have been known to enlightened Europe, were it not for the casualty of the school of the West having been suppressed before the invention of printing, and that every attempt to profit by that invention since has been interrupted by some public calamity. The publication of everything valuable in this language by the fathers of Donegal was unfortunately prevented by the troubles of the time of Charles I., by Cromwell's usurpation. These fathers had procured a fount for this purpose, which, when forced to fly, they carried with them

to Louvain, where some fragments of this fount are yet to be found."

In a catalogue of early books, printed in Ireland, which Archdeacon Cotton found existing in the several libraries of Trinity College, Dublin, of Archbishop Marsh, and Cashel Diocesan Library, which that gentleman was good enough to allow me the use of, I find only seventy-eight publications referred to which were printed in Ireland before 1640.

There are several very rare and remarkable works in the Cashel Diocesan Library.*

[MS.] "A Short View of the State of Ireland, from the year 1640 to 1652."

"A Vindication of His Late Majestie, of Blessed Memory," &c. (4to., 170 pp.)

[At the foot of title page the following is written—
"This Vindication, as I was informed by ye late Lord Clarendon, was written by his father, Lord Chancellor Clarendon, if I remember right, at Cloyne, with ye assistance of the Duke of Ormonde, and by helpe of ye money furnished by the Duke. The copy is very incorrect and imperfect. I had it from Capt. B——, a servant I think, of ye Duke of Ormonde, about ye year 1686.

(Signed)

"WILL: DUBLIN."

* The very intelligent and obliging librarian is Mr. Denis White, Diocesan Library, Cashel.

"A Letter in behalf of an Assembly of the Irish at Glannaleroe, in Leinster."

(Signed)

"GERALD FITZGERALD."

Printed by Blayden, Dublin, 1651, 4to.

"The Articles of Peace made by His Excellency, James, Duke of Ormonde, with the General Assembly of Roman Catholics of said Kingdom, given at our Castle of Kilkenny, 17th January, 1648."

"Scripture Evidence for Baptism of Infants of Covenanters." Substance of Two Sermons preached in Cork in June, 1653.

Printed in Cork, by J. Taylor, 1653, 4to.

"True Copy of several Letters first sent from Lord Ormonde to the Hon. Colonel Michael Jones, Commander-in-Chief of the Parliamentary forces, and Governor of the city of Dublin."

Dublin, printed by William Blayden, 1649, 4to.

"The Sentence of the Councill of Warre, pronounced against my Lord Mountnorris, in Ireland, the 12th of December, 1635."

Printed by the Society of Stationers of Dublin, 1641, 4to.

"The Propositions of the Roman Catholicks of Ireland, presented by the Commissioners to His Sacred Majesty, in April, 1644."

Printed at Waterford, by Thomas Bourke, printer to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, 1644, 4to.

"A Declaration set forth by the Lord-Lieutenant and Councill, Vindicating the Honour and Justice of His Majestie's Government," &c., &c., &c. By Alice Lady Moore, Viscountess Dowager of Drogheda, Sir Patrick Wemys, Knight, and Capt. J. Rawson.

Dublin, printed by W. Blayden, 1645, 4to.

"Articles of Peace, made and concluded and agreed upon by His Excellency, James, Lord Marquiss of Ormonde, Lieutenant-General of His Majestie's kingdom of Ireland, His Majestie's Commissioner to treat and consider peace with His Majestie's Roman Catholic subjects of said kingdom, under the great seal of England, 24th of June, and twentieth year of his reign, and Donnagh, Lord Viscount Muskerry, and others authorised by His Majestie's said Roman Catholic subjects, 6th of March, 1645."

Printed and published by Authority and Command of the Lord Lieutenant and Councill, 1645, 4to.

"The Declaration of Owen O'Neill, published in the Head-quarters of that part of the Army adhering with him, together with the Right Honourable the Supreme Councill of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland."

"Their Answer Thereunto."

Printed and published by order of the said Councill. Kilkenny, 1640, 4to.

"Constitutions and Canons Ecclesiastical, treated upon by the Archbishop and Bishops and the rest of the Clergy of Ireland, and agreed upon by the King's

Majestie's License, in their Synod begun and holden at Dublin, Anno Domini, 1634, and in the tenth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord Charles, by the grace of God, King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland."

"Dublin, printed by Andrew Crook and Samuel Helsham, and are to be sold by Samuel Helsham, at the Colledge Arms, in Castle Street."

CHAPTER III.

EARLY PRINTING IN IRELAND—NEWSPAPERS, TRACTS,
AND BROADSIDES.

 1641—1685.

"IN Kilkenny and Waterford," we are informed by Archdeacon Cotton, "during the rebellion of 1641, the Pope's Legate, Rinuccini, established printing presses, for the purpose of disseminating those doctrines which he conceived to be essential to the interests of his master, &c. . . .

"The work which has become most known in these latter times from the press of Kilkenny, is the '*Hibernia Dominicana*,' of the Right Rev. Thomas Bourke, published in 1762 and 1772, with the disguised imprint, '*Colonia Agrippina*, a work which certainly is executed in a way to do credit to Kilkenny.'" *

But more of De Burgo and his work anon.

* "*Typographical Gazetteer*" of Archdeacon Cotton, p. 136.

Archdeacon Cotton, in some MS. notes on Irish Typography, for which I am indebted to him, makes mention of a Play printed in Dublin, in 1641, by "Henry Burnell, entitled, 'Landgarthe, a Tragic-Comedie,' (4to. Dublin, 1641). A Copy in the British Museum."

This production was recently brought to my notice by Counsellor Prendergast, in the library of the late Earl of Charlemont, in Rutland Square, Dublin.

In that noble library, now no longer existing, among numerous early dramas of great rarity, and collections of Plays, including the original folio edition of Shakspeare, that drama, printed in Dublin in 4to., in 1641, the earliest one printed in Ireland, was seen by me. The following is its title:

"Landgartha; a Tragic Comedy, as it was presented in the New Theatre, in Dublin, with good applause, being an Ancient Story.

"Written by H. B. [H. Burnell] 4to. Printed at Dublin (no printer's name), 1641."

This play was first acted on St. Patrick's day, 1639, "With the allowance of the Master of the Revels."

Prefixed to this "Trajic Commedy," is an Epistle Dedicatory, by the author, and a Eulogistic Poem, in Latin, signed E. Burnell. "Patre suo carissimo Encomium."

There are also two laudatory poems addressed to the author, and at the end the following lines: "Some—but not of best judgment—were offended at the conclusion of this play, in regard Landgartha tooke not then

what she was persuaded to by so many—the King's imbraces. To which kind of people (who know not what they say) I answer, omitting all other reasons, that a Tragic-Comedy should neither end comically or tragically, but betwixt both, which decorum I did my best to observe, not to go against Art to please the over amorous. To the rest of babblers, I despise any answer."

I am indebted also to my friend Mr. Prendergast for the following information of one of the early dramas, printed and played in Dublin, in 1663:

"In the library of Lord Charlemont, among the Old Plays, I find one entitled 'Hic et Ubique; or, the Humours of Dublin,' a Comedy (By Richard Head, 1663).

Dramatis Personæ.

MEIN.

COLONEL KILLTORY.
ALDERMAN THRIVEWELL.
PEREGRINE (A Traveller).
MR. HOPEWELL.
MR. CONTRIVER (A Projector).
BANKRUPT.
TRUSTALL.
PHANTASTIC.
HIC ET UBIQUE.
PATRICK (Servant to Colonel).

WOMEN.

MRS. HOPEWELL (Wife to Hopewell).
MRS. CONTRIVER.
CASSANDRA (Daughter to Thriwell).
JANE (Her Maid).
SUE POUCH (Landlady of Inn).

"The title-page has unfortunately been lost, but is supplied in MS. by Edmund Malone, who collected for Lord Charlemont."

RICHARD HEAD.

"This author was the son of a minister in Ireland, who being murdered among many thousands more in the dreadful massacre in that kingdom, in 1641, Mrs. Head, with this son, then but young, came over to England, where, having been trained up in learning, he was sent, through the friendship of some persons who had a regard for his father, to Oxford, and completed his studies in the very same college that his father had formerly belonged to. His circumstances, however, being mean, he was taken away from the University before he got any degree, and was bound apprentice to a bookseller, and when out of his time, married, and set up for himself; but having a strong propensity to two pernicious passions, viz., poetry and gaming, the one of which is, for the most part, unprofitable, and the other almost always destructive, he quickly ruined his circumstances, and was obliged to retire for a time to Ireland. Here he wrote his only dramatic piece, which was entitled,

"*'Hic et Ubique'* (4to., 1663).

"By this piece he acquired very great reputation and some money; on which he returned to England, reprinted his Comedy, and dedicated it to the Duke of

Monmouth. But meeting with no encouragement, he once more had recourse to his trade of bookselling. But no sooner had he a little recovered himself than he again lent an ear to the syren allurements of pleasure and poetry, in the latter of which he never seems to have made any great proficiency. He failed a second time in the world, on which he had again recourse to his pen for support, and wrote several different pieces, particularly the first part of 'The English Rogue,' in which, however, he had given scope to so much licentiousness that he could not get an imprimatur granted until he had expunged some of the most luscious passages. To this first part, three more were afterwards added by Mr. Head, in conjunction with Mr. Fred. Kirkman, who had also been his partner in trade. The business of an author, however, being very precarious, it appears from Winstanley, who was personally acquainted with him, that he afterwards met with a great many crosses and afflictions, and was at last cast away at sea, as he was going to the Isle of Wight, in the year 1678.*

In his MS. "Irish Topographical Notes," Archdeacon Cotton mentions a tract printed in Waterford, in 1644, now existing in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

"A Lexipharmacon, or a Sovereign Antidote against a virulent Cordiell, composed 22nd June, 1644, by two druggists. The one an Apostate, called John Loghan, a titular Doctor of Physick, the other a Doctor of

* From "Biographia Dramatica," &c., in 2 vols., 8vo., London, 1783. By David Erskine Baker, Esq.

Divinity of the pretended Reformed Gospel, called Ed. Parrey, wherein the Cordiell is proved to be a contagious drugge of pestilent Ingredients, and the motives inducing the Apostate into a revolt, to be damnable and heretical. By Walter Enos, Dublinia, Priest and Doctor of Divinity."

"Beware of false prophets, which come to you in sheep's clothing, but inwardly they are ravening wolves.

"Ye shall know them by their fruits."

MATTHEW VII. 15, 16.

"Though we, or an angel from heaven, preach any other gospel unto you than that which we have preached unto you, let him be accursed."

GALATIANS I. 8.

Printed at Waterford, by Thomas Bourke, in the months of August and September, MDCXLIV. 4to. "A Dedication to the Right Honourable the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of the Kingdom of Ireland" (pp. 3—14), in which the author declares his book to have been occasioned by a Pamphlet of Dr. Loghan's, entitled, "A Cordiell, or the Motives which induced him to desert the Romish, and embrace the true Protestant, religion." The language of this Dedication is extremely violent. The writer courts the Supreme Council in the following terms: "Neyther neede I long deliberation in the addresse of this work. You are chiefly interested therein, who as you defend by armes the faith therein professed, so he is confident you will protect the worke itself by your patronage. It's no doubt God's powerful hand that hath knitted together the hearts of the Irish nation by unanimous consent to

elect so faithful, so honourable, and so learned a Council by which the Arke is preserved to God, the kingdom to His Majesty, and for his subjects their immunities. The *Apostate* hath addressed his *Cordiell* to the renowned *Marquesse* as *Protector* of the Reformed Gospel, newly corrected by Henry VIII., and I hold myselfe obliged to address my *Lexipharmacon* unto your Lordship as *protector* of the ancient Catholicke Apostolicke Roman faith. An Advertisement to the Franciscan Order, (pp. 15, 16). The work itself (pp. 17—118) on the last page of which is the license granted by Michael Hacket, Priest and Vicar-General of the Diocese of Waterford and Lismore. An Index three leaves unnumbered."

In the valuable collection of rare Tracts, Proclamations, Manifestoes, and early printed documents in general, relating to Irish affairs, of Mr. Charles Halliday, there are three proclamations and manifestoes of the Catholic Confederates of Kilkenny, printed in Ireland, of the dates 1644, 1646, 1648. The one of 1644 is printed by Bladen, in Dublin, the one of 1646 was printed at Kilkenny, and bears the name of Thomas Preston. There are two Manifestoes of the Catholic Confederates of Kilkenny that deserve particular notice, one published

"By the Council,"

Assuring the Roman Catholics in the English quarters that they shall not be molested, "the object of the

Council of the Confederate Catholics being always to protect the Catholics of the realm.

(Dated) "September 28th, 1646.

(Signed) "Jo. Bap. Firmæ, Nuncio."

Kilkenny, 1646. Size, 4to., twelve inches by eight.

A manifesto, printed in Kilkenny, in 1648, is headed:

"By the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of Ireland." In reality it was promulgated by the Ormondist faction in the Council.

The tenor of this document is a protest against the Nuncio's attempt to oppose the cessation of arms, and to subject the affairs of the kingdom to spiritual jurisdiction. Date, 29th of May, 1648.

Printed at Kilkenny, 1648. Size, small folio, sixteen inches by twelve.

The Thorpe Collection of Tracts in the library of the Royal Dublin Society, consists of twelve volumes.

This most valuable collection of historical documents was purchased from the well-known London bookseller, Mr. Thorpe, whose dealings in old books of great rarity, and in valuable manuscripts, some years ago, were universally known, they were bought on the recommendation of a gentleman more competent than most literary men of the present time to appreciate duly the historical value and importance of such a collection.

In that collection of rare and ancient pamphlets, called the Thorpe Tracts, relating to Ireland (vol. iii., 1642—1645, in red Morocco, small 4to.), there is a printed

document that has been the subject of much controversy, and is entitled :

“ A Declaration made by the Rebels in Ireland against the English and Scottish Protestants, lately contrived by the Confederate Rebels in a Council held at Kilkenny against the Parliament of England and Protestants of these Kingdoms;” and

“ A General Proclamation, published by the Law Council for arming all Catholics, from eighteen to sixty, for Subduing all Protestants in the Kingdom of Ireland. Published according to order.”

Printed at Waterford, by Thomas Bourke, printer to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, and reprinted at London, by R. Austin, for J. T., 1644.

As very erroneous opinions prevail about this document, I think it right to give the following accurate details of it.

This valuable document extends to eight pages. The first piece is

“ A Declaration of the Lords, Gentry, and others of Leinster and Munster of their intentions towards English and Scottish Protestants, Inhabitants within this Kingdome :

“ Whereas we are informed that it is generally conceived and believed by the English and Scottish Protestants of this kingdom, that we, the Lords, and Gentry, and others of the said kingdom have taken arms and taken forces for the extirpation and banishing of them out of this kingdom, thereby to acquire to ourselves their

goods and estates : we therefore desire to be rightly understood, for we hereby declare that we never consented nor intended, nor never intend nor condescended, to any such acts, but do utterly disclaim them. But that each man known to be a moderate, conformable Protestant, may (as well as the Roman Catholics) respectively live and enjoy the freedom of their own religion, and peaceably and quietly possess their own estates, so far forth as they or any of them shall joyne with us in this oath following."

[Then follows an oath of allegiance to King Charles and his successors, &c., and an undertaking to do nothing to hinder the free and public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion.]

"This Declaration and Oath was entered in the Counsell Book of Kilkenny, and this is a true copy thereof.

"Witnesse the hand of

"JEREMY GREEN,

"Clerk of the Supreme Councill of
Kilkenny."

Then follows a Proclamation issued by the Confederate Catholics of the Supreme Councill, bearing the following signatures :

"Mount Garrett, Fz. Tho. Dublin. Antrim.

"Netterville, Arthur Iveagh. John Clonfert.

"Thomas Preston. Edward FitzMorris. Rich. Belling.

"Tirlough O'Neile. Patrick Darcy. George Comins.

"Given at Kilkenny, the 6th of July, 1644."

We find the following words:

"Printed at Waterford, by Tho. Bourke, printer to the Confederate Catholikes of Ireland."

The very early printed document above referred to has been considered one of the best specimens of Irish provincial printing of the news-letter kind of publication of the first half of the seventeenth century. This publication was brought to my notice on account of the excellency of the printing, the good quality of the paper, and the singularity of the facts set forth on the title, that it was printed in 1644 and in Waterford.

On closely examining the title-page and colophon, and comparing the former with that of other letters of news, relating to Irish affairs of the same time, and in the same volume, I discovered that an ornamental border of a peculiar pattern that enclosed the title of this volume, printed as stated therein in Waterford in 1644, corresponded exactly with the ornamental border of the first news-letter in the volume, printed the same year *in London*.

The title of this first tract in the volume of the Thorpe Pamphlets, above referred to, labelled "vol. iii., 1642—1645," is "Plots and Conspiracy, and Attempts of Domestick and Foraigne Enemies of the Romish Religion," &c.

London, printed by G. M., for R. Rounthwait, 1644.

The style of printing and quality of paper of this pamphlet are excellent, as those are likewise, of the

Waterford Declaration and Proclamation, said to have been printed in Waterford in 1644.

It was by no means likely, nor was it possible, that two printers, one in England, and the other in Ireland, of that period, could have devised, for titles of distinct publications, a border precisely of the same pattern, without any previous knowledge of the design adopted by one of them.

It is quite true the style of printing and quality of paper of the publication that Waterford gets the credit of in 1644, are quite equal to the News-letter of the same date, printed in London, and far superior to the printing and paper of the earliest newspapers of Ireland, to those printed in Dublin—"The Dublin News Letter," of 1685, and "The Dublin Intelligencer," of 1690.

Other considerations seemed sufficient to some persons versed in antiquarian lore and historical inquiries, but who, probably, had not seen the printed document above referred to, to come to the conclusion that the words, "Printed in Waterford," on the title, were inserted with some sinister purpose, and that no such publication had issued from the press at Waterford.

But both these opinions are evidently erroneous. The title and colophon at the end of the tract above mentioned, leave no doubt whatever that the said tract existing in the library of the Royal Dublin Society was first printed in Waterford, and that portion of it, namely, "The Declaration of the Lords, Gentry, and others of Leinster and Munster towards English and Scotch Protestants, Inhabitants of this Kingdom," was

certainly reprinted by Austin in London, in 1644, from the Declaration of the Council of the Confederates, printed some time previously in Kilkenny.

The massacres, raids, and plunderings of the Puritans in Ireland, eventuated in the coalition of the Catholic nobility and gentry of the Pale with the clergy, heads of ancient families, and people of the Celtic or old Irish race in self defence from their common enemy. The 23rd of October, 1642, the representatives of the Catholics of both categories assembled in the city of Kilkenny, to found that solemn League and Covenant which was designated "The Confederation of Kilkenny."

The Supreme Council of the Confederates of Kilkenny was presided over by Lord Mountgarret. Six notable persons were selected out of each province to constitute the Council. The members of it were the Archbishops of Dublin, of Armagh, and of Tuam; the Bishops of Down and Clonfert; Lords Gormanstown, Mountgarret, Roche (of Fermoy), Mayo; Sir Daniel O'Brien, Nicholas Plunket, Sir Lucas Dillon, Richard Beling, James Cusack, Philip O'Reilly, Edmund Fitzmorris, Dr. Fennell, Robert Lambert, George Comyn, Colonel Heber MacMahon, Tirlogh O'Neil, Geoffrey Brown, and Patrick D'Arcy.

One of their earliest acts was to appoint Owen Roe O'Neil Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Ulster, Barry those of Munster, Thomas Preston those of Leinster; John Burke was appointed Lieutenant-General of the Forces of Connaught, reserving the

chief command for Lord Clanricarde, whose adhesion to the Confederation was expected.

A mint was established at Kilkenny, and considerable donations of plate were made by the members of the Council and their friends to the national treasury, and in a very short time silver half-crown pieces to the value of four thousand pounds were coined. "Along with this mint," says the author of "The Confederation of Kilkenny," "the Supreme Council caused a press to be set up, in order to publish their acts, proclamations, and manifestoes. *

That the press of the Confederation of Kilkenny was in operation in 1642 and long subsequently, there can be no doubt. That the press of the Lords of the Pale was busy at the same time, we have evidence enough in the printed tracts and manifestoes existing in the libraries of Trinity College, and the Royal Dublin Society.

Moreover, we find in the Report of the National Synod that had been held in Kilkenny, the 10th of May, 1642, had ordained an oath of association to be taken by all Catholics throughout the land, to bear true allegiance to King Charles I. and his lawful successors; to defend the power, prerogatives, and rights of the Parliament of this realm, the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion throughout this land, and the just rights, possessions, and estates of all those who have taken this oath; and to obey all the orders and decrees

* "The Confederation of Kilkenny," by the Rev. C. P. Meehan, p. 53. Dub., 1863.

to be made by the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics of this kingdom concerning the public cause.

The Synod moreover issued a manifesto, wherein they ordain :

“Whereas the adversaries do spread divers rumours, do write divers letters, and under the King's name do print proclamations, which are not the King's, by which means divers plots and dangers may ensue to the nation : We, therefore, to stop the way of untruth, and forgeries of political adversaries, do will and command that no such rumours, letters, or proclamations may have place or belief until it be known in a National Council, whether they truly proceed from the King, left to his own freedom, and until agents of this kingdom, hereafter to be appointed by the National Council, have free passage to His Majesty, whereby this kingdom may be certainly informed of His Majesty's will and intentions.” *

Not one of the original proclamations or manifestoes issued from the printing press of the Kilkenny Confederates exists in Trinity College Library. But in that vast repertory of Irish Literature, the library of Charles Haliday, Esq., proclamations and manifestoes, printed by that press, and published by the Confederate Catholics of Kilkenny, do exist. Charles I. died on the scaffold the 30th of January, 1648. The Catholic Confederation of Kilkenny died at the hands of Ormonde in April the same year.

The renowned Dominican, Thomas de Burgo—Anglice Thomas Burke, of the illustrious race of which the

* Ibid, p. 29.

Clanricardes were the latest chiefs—was born in 1709. In 1723, while yet a youth, he was sent to Rome, with a view to his education, under the direction of a relative of his, a dignitary of the church, the Rev. Thomas Burke, and preparation for his entrance into the Dominican Order. He had scarcely attained the age of fifteen, when he was invested with the habit of his Order, in June, 1724.

In March, 1726, he made his profession, and entered on his noviciate, and during five years applied himself to the study of theology. In due time he was ordained, received into his Order, rose to the highest theological honours and collegiate distinctions, so early as 1742, and the following year returned to Ireland, entered on the duties of a Missionary priest, and in the course of fifteen years acquired a great fame, not only for sanctity, but for sagacity and learning.

In 1759 he was appointed Bishop of Ossory. He published some theological works, between the years 1743 and 1753, which sustained his high reputation, and in the last mentioned year he was elected, in a provincial chapter, Historiographer of his Order in Ireland. From 1753 De Burgo had devoted himself to that *magnus opus* of his, "The Hibernia Dominicana," and in February, 1759, he received the sanction of the General of his Order in Rome, and the Papal Licence for its publication.

The "Hibernia Dominicana," was encumbered with a title of inordinate length, but it abounded with a mass

of important information, which rendered that remarkable work a storehouse of information relating to the affairs of Catholic Ireland, of the most valuable and authentic kind—information which no other existing work could supply, if “The Hibernia Dominicana” had been burned by the hands of the common hangman about a century ago, in the good old times of Penal Law persecution in Ireland.

The impress of “The Hibernia Dominicana” has been the subject of controversy. It is as follows:—

“Per P. Thomam De Burgo, Prælibate Ordinis alumnus S. Theologiæ Magistrum, et Protonotarium Apostolicum, nec non Historiographum Hiberniæ Dominicanæ. E——— O——— (*id est*, Episcopum Ossoriensum). Colonia Agrippinæ Ex Typographiæ Metternichianæ sub signo Gryphi, Anno 1762. Cum Permissu Superiorum, Et Privilegio Sacræ Cæsareæ Majestatis,”—so that “The Hibernia Dominicana,” if the title told truth, was not printed in Ireland, but in Cologne. Nevertheless, it was printed in Ireland, but that fact could not have been proclaimed in Ireland a century ago, without bringing down the vengeance of the law, or of the Government, or of the faction that dominated over both, on the head of the offending Popish Bishop, who was the author of it, or the audacious printer who had not the fear of the Pale before his eyes, the ill-starred John Harding.

“The Hibernia Dominicana” was printed in Kilkenny, in the printing office of Edmund Finn, printer

and proprietor of "The Leinster Express" newspaper, and ancestor of the late Counsellor William Finn, under the immediate inspection of Dr. Burke.

In 1772 he published a Supplement, containing much valuable matter, entitled, "Supplementum Hiberniæ Dominicanæ, variæ verorum generum complecteus additamenta, juxta memorati operis seriem disposita per eundem auctorem, P. Thomam de Burgo, O. P. (Ep—sc—p—m Oss—r—n—s—m), A.D. 1772."

The venerable prelate was a little more *audacious* in 1772 than it was prudent to appear in 1762. He ventured to publish, in the title to the Appendix, a few more letters of name, in the last-mentioned year, than it was safe to do in the title to the work published in 1762.

One of the objects of the Appendix, extending to seventeen chapters, was to defend the conduct of the Papal Nuncio, Rinuccini, while he resided in his official capacity in Ireland, and especially in Kilkenny, when the Supreme Council of the Confederate Catholics was sitting in that city, and subsequently on his mission to Rome, when he was sent by the Council to the Pope, to represent the then state of affairs in Ireland.

In 1769, on his return to Rome, he had discovered, in Florence, in the library of the Marquis Rinuccini, the papers of the Nuncio, relating to his mission in Ireland, which furnished much of the materials required for the Appendix to "The Hibernia Dominicana."

Of the dangers which the author of "The Hibernia Dominicana" encountered by the publication of that

work, we may form some conception from the tone of a Declaration of seven titular Bishops, made in July, 1775, in relation to a work entitled "*Hibernia Dominicana.*" A more painful feeling than can be well expressed in moderate terms cannot be easily experienced than that which is occasioned by the perusal of the following document, so illustrative as it is of the degrading influences of long subjection to a regime of terror, like that of the penal code of Ireland.

DECLARATION OF TITULAR BISHOPS MADE IN SYNOD AT
THURLES IN RELATION TO "*THE HIBERNIA DOMINICANA.*"

"A book, under the title of '*Hibernia Dominicana,*' having been printed, as appears from its title page, in the year 1762, and a Supplement thereunto published in the year 1772, as appears also from the title page thereof, the general uneasiness and alarm which the said Book and Supplement occasion amongst our people, have put us under the necessity of examining them. We have attentively examined them, and we think it incumbent on us to express, in the most decisive manner, and with all sincerity, our entire disapprobation of them, because they tend to weaken that allegiance, fidelity, and submission which we acknowledge ourselves to owe, from duty and from gratitude, to His Majesty, King George III. Because they are likely to disturb the public peace and tranquillity, by raising unnecessary scruples in the minds of our people, and sowing the seeds of

dissensions amongst them, in points which they ought, both from their religion and their interest, to be firmly united. And because they manifestly tend to give a handle to those who differ from us in religious principles, to impute to us maxims that we utterly reject, and that are by no means founded on the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church. For these reasons we consider it as our indispensable duty, not only to manifest, as we hereby do, our sentiments, but also inculcate the same, as far as in our power, to those under our care, but particularly our clergy, to whom we most earnestly recommend that they be careful and zealous upon all occasions to instruct their flocks in those unfeigned principles of allegiance, fidelity, and of attachment to the person and Government of our gracious Sovereign, His Majesty, King George III., which we, conforming ourselves to the doctrine of our holy Church, and to the repeated instructions of the supreme pastors thereof, have heretofore constantly enforced, and will always, with God's blessing, continue to enforce, by our words and our example.

" Given under our hands, at Thurles, this 28th of July, 1775.

(Signed)	" James Butter,	James Keefe,
	" William Egan,	F. Moylan,
	" Daniel O'Kearney,	John Butler,
	" Matthew MacKenna."	

When this denunciation of the great work of the good and learned Bishop of Ossory was fulminated in 1775, the renowned Dominican had been in his grave, and in all probability in heaven, only a short time. He died in Kilkenny, in the course of that year, 1775.

None of the evil tendencies and *Prava Doctrina* attributed in the Synodical Declaration of the seven provincial Bishops, assembled in Thurles, were justly attributable to the principles, or opinions, or facts, set forth in the work of the pious, but learned, Bishop of Ossory.

If instead of Dr Burke's "*Hibernia Dominicanæ*" the "*Disputatio Apologetica de jure Regni Hiberniæ Pro Catholicis Hibernicis Adversus Anglos Hæreticos. Authore C. M. (Cornelius Mahony)*" with the imprint Francfort, 1642 (but really printed in Lisbon), that work of most abominable principles—sanguinary and inhuman—had been sufficiently examined and adequately censured, and denounced by the seven prelates of the Provincial Synod of 1645, no right thinking man, of any creed, and least of all of the Roman Catholic religion, could find fault with the condemnation of its principles and teachings.

In most copies of "*The Hibernia Dominicana*," ten pages are usually wanting, from 137 to 147, and in some copies an entire chapter relating to the state of the Irish Protestants in the time of James II.

In a sketch of the Life and Writings of Dr. Burke, published in "*The Hibernia Dominicana*," for February, 1793, the writer, evidently well acquainted with his

subject says: "This work, 'The Hibernia Dominicana,' was executed by Edmund Finn, in Kilkenny, under Dr. Burke's own inspection.

In the "Irish Literary Inquirer," for September 23rd, 1865, there is an article on De Burgo's "Hibernia Dominicana;" the editor refers to a communication from the Rev. James Graves, of Kilkenny, editor of the "Kilkenny Archæological Journal," on this subject, of which the following is an extract:

"I have a note made May 10th, 1850, from the oral communication of Mr. Michael Comerford, a most respectable Roman Catholic citizen of Kilkenny (one of the old stock), and then of great age, though clear intellect, to the effect that the Hib. Dom. was printed, not by Edmund Finn, but by his foreman, at Finn's printing office. Now, Finn published the first number of Finn's 'Leinster Journal,' on January 26th, 1767, dating his imprint from St. Mary's Churchyard, Kilkenny. The site of his house is now well known; it stood in what is now Mary's Lane, having been made a lane by a wall which was subsequently built, enclosing the churchyard, and what is better, it stood, and its site still is, quite close to the Kilkenny 'Tholsel'—Town Hall, or 'Prætorium,' being the corner house next High Street, now occupied by a cloth shop, the Tholsel being only a few houses further north. It seems likely to me that Stokes was Finn's 'foreman,' and that as a matter of precaution, his name was used instead of Finn's. But I must make inquiry about this.

“The late Marquis of Ormonde told me that he saw a copy of the *Hibernia Dominicana* with Thorpe with the imprint ‘*Kilkenniae*’ on its title; he asked twenty pounds for it. At Kilkenny Castle is a splendid copy with a cardinal’s hat and arms on the covers, but it has the ‘*Col. Agrippinae*’ imprint. It was bought by the late Marquis from Thorpe.

“The Rev. Phillip More, P.P., Johnstown, Co. Kilkenny, has a very fine copy of the Supplement, which he bought in a lot of loose pamphlets for *one penny!* at a brother clergyman’s auction; it was in a wrapper, unbound and uncut. It has since been bound. The Supplement brings more than the original work. In booksellers’ catalogues, about three pounds ten shillings is the price of the Hib. Dom., without the Supplement. There is a floating tradition in Kilkenny that the fount of type with which the Hib. Dom. was printed, was the same as that used by the Confederate Catholics for their state printing; but this requires confirmation. Certainly, the cut of the type is antique; and very like that used in a book of Rothe’s (David, Bishop of Ossory), printed in Kilkenny for the Confederates, which I have seen. The type of Finn’s ‘*Leinster Journal*’ ought to be compared with the Hib. Dom., but I have not a copy of any number of that paper. ‘Stokes’ is a name occurring amongst the lower order in Kilkenny at present.”

Further reference is made in this article by the editor to the original imprint of “*The Hibernia Dominicana*.” At the sale of Bishop Heber’s library, was sold, in the first day’s sale (See Catal. Part iv. p. 155):

"No. 1180. DE BURGO (THOMÆ). Hibernia Dominicana sue Historiæ Provinciæ Hibernæ cum supplemento. *Rare*, in red morocco, gilt leaves in a case. Kilkennia, ex Typographia Jacobi Stokes, juxta Prætorium, 1762.

"* * * This was Pope Leo XII.'s copy, and bears an inscription to him on the sides. It is the only copy I have ever seen with Kilkenny and the name of the printer on the title. De Burgo's name is at full length on the title, and he is designated 'Postea Episcopum Ossoriensem.' A map of Ireland is placed opposite the title, bearing the date 1773, with the engraver's name, 'J. Ridge, Dublin.' This copy has the corrections and the rare Supplement." The map, it will be observed, is of a later date than that of the work, and must have been subsequently inserted.

I am much indebted to my friend, Mr. John P. Prendergast, for some valuable information which he obtained from original MS. documents deposited in the Record Tower, Dublin Castle, respecting the printing press of the Confederate Catholics of Kilkenny in the time of Cromwell. The documents referred to are the Books of the Council for the Affairs of Ireland, and the following Orders are extracted from them :

"Ordered: That the Commissioners of Revenue at Waterford do forthwith secure the printing press belonging to the Commonwealth in that city, locking up the room wherein it is, that nothing appertaining thereto may be embezzled and disposed of until further orders.

And the said Commissioners are also to forbear of paying of Peter de Peine any salary as printer, from this time.

“Dated at Kilkenny, Sept 30th, 1652.

“Orders of the Commissioners of the Parliament, Dublin Castle” (J. 82. P.356).

“Ordered: That Colonel Lawrence do cause as many copies of the Act of Settlement of Ireland that are already printed at Waterford to be forthwith sent to us: and the Commissioners of Revenue at Waterford are hereby ordered to value the same, and to cause satisfaction to be given to the printer, out of the receipts of excise there.

“And for so doing this shall be their warrant.

“Dated at Kilkenny, this 15th October, 1652” (*Ib.* P. 362).

The Act of Settlement above referred to, Mr. Prendergast observes, was that by which the whole Irish nation was declared guilty of rebellion, and therefore that all the ancient possessors of the soil, nobility, gentry, and people had forfeited their lands. The press used for the printing of this Act was therefore, in all probability, the one owned and used by the Confederate Catholics of Kilkenny, which had been captured by the Cromwellians. If so, it was a strange destination for it to have been used with such terrible effect against its late owners.

In Harriss' "Hibernica," we find, in the preface to two Treatises concerning the power of England to make

laws for Ireland, a statement that "the Case of Tenures" containing the argument of Patrick Darcy, in 1637, against Strafford's proceedings was printed by Thomas Bourke, printer to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland in 1643, 4to. (Preface, p. 1, *Ib.*)

Cromwell's celebrated answer to the Clanmacnoise Manifesto of the Irish Catholic Prelates and Clergy, was printed at Cork in 1649, and reprinted in London March 21st, 1649-50. The Cork Edition exists in the King's Inns Library, Dublin.

Though not the earliest tract, the earliest printed book admitted by Archdeacon Cotton to have issued from the press in Waterford, was entitled, "A New Almanack for the year of our Lord God, 1646, being the 2nd year after Leap Yeare, and since the Creation of the World 5595. By an Manapian. Printed for the yeare 1646, in Waterford." Reprinted in London, or rather animadverted upon, under the title of "A Bloody Irish Almanack; or, Rebellious and Bloody Ireland Discovered, in some Notes extracted out of an Almanack in Ireland for this year, 1646. By John Booker. London" (8vo., 1647. Pp. 57).

In this "Bloody Irish Almanack," the author observes (p. 11): "It is observable that pyrates were the founders of Waterford."

Another production of the Waterford press of 1643 (reprint): "An Argument delivered by Patrick Darcy, Esquire, by the express orders of the House of Commons, in the Parliament of Ireland, 9th June, 1641. Printed

at Waterford, by Thomas Bourke, printer to the Confederate Catholics of Ireland, 1643" (and Dublin reprinted in 1764, 8vo.)

In a volume of the Thorpe Tracts, in the library of the Royal Dublin Society, there exists a printed document, of a few pages, on bad paper, and in bad print, "printed in Waterford," in 1643.

The ink, paper, and printing are equally bad; the commonest street ballad (as Irish ballads used to be printed half a century ago) could not be worse printed and on worse paper.

Archdeacon Cotton is more than doubtful of the existence in Waterford of a printing press long previously to 1646, when there certainly was one in that city. He makes the following reference to it:

"Whether the materials came from Rome, Douay, Rheims, or any such other Popish place, I know not. But they printed there, and at Oxford of late, and now do print base and railing pamphlets and lying Almanacks, and in them most grossly abuse the Parliament and kingdom of England, who no doubt, ere long, will suppress their presses." *

One of the early tracts printed in Dublin (small 4to., A.D. 1643), is in the third volume of the Thorpe Collection of Irish Historical Tracts, in the library of the Royal Dublin Society, entitled:

* Archdeacon Cotton's "Typographical Gazetteer," Oxford, 8vo., 1881. Pp. 821, 822.

"A Letter from a Protestant in Ireland, to a Member of the House of Commons in England, upon occasion of the late Treaty.

"Printed 1643 (Dublin, the 3rd of October, 1643)."

There is no printer's name to it. The date and place are to be found at the end.

In another tract in the same volume, entitled: "A Proclamation concerning a Cessation of Arms," printed in London, in 1643, there is evidence of the same tract being previously printed in Dublin. On the title page are the following words:

"Printed first at Dublin, by William Bladen, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty."

In that valuable collection of Tracts relating to Ireland, of which the Thorpe Collection of twelve volumes consists, in the library of the Royal Dublin Society, we find a multitude of "Letters out of Ireland," "Good Newes from Ireland," "True Intelligence out of Ireland," "Mercurius Hibernæ," "Vox Hibernæ," "Letters of Great Consequence," "Good and True Newes from Ireland," "Wofull Newes from Ireland," "Bloody Newes from Ireland," "A Bloody Fight at Balruddery," "The Most Blessed and Truest News from Ireland, shewing the Fortunate Success of the Protestants, and God's Just Vengeance on the Rebels," from 1640 to 1646. But nearly all of these were published in London. The exceptions are exceedingly rare. We find in Vol. III. a small tract, printed in Waterford, in 1642; I find in

Vol. IV., 1645, 1646, a tract printed and published in Dublin, entitled :

“A Remonstrance from the Lords and Commons assembled in Parliament in Dublin, concerning the Estate of Ireland, the Barbarousness of the Bloody Rebels,” &c.

“Printed by W. Bladen, printer to the King’s Most Excellent Majesty. A.D., Dublin, 1646.”

And in the same volume there is another tract, printed by the same W. Bladen, Dublin, in 1646, entitled :

“The last Articles of Peace,” &c.; and in the same volume two Tracts, printed also by Bladen, the same year, in Dublin.

In 1650 a Tract was published in Cork, and was republished in London, entitled :

“A Declaration of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland for the Undeceiving of Deceived and Seduced People &c., &c., &c., in Answer to certain late Declarations and Acts framed by the Irish Popish Prelates and Clergy in a Conventicle at Clamnacnoise. Licensed by the Secy. of the Army.”

“Printed at Cork, and now reprinted in London, 1651.”*

In 1652 an Act of Parliament was printed at Waterford, entitled :

“An Act for the Settling of Ireland, Thursday, 12th August, 1652. Ordered by the Parliament to be printed and published.”

* See Thorpe’s Collection, Vol. V. 1649-1665.

"The. Scobell Cler. Par."

Printed at Waterford, by Peter de Pienne.

In 1659 "A Declaration of the Army in Ireland," &c., &c., &c., was printed in Dublin, and reprinted in London.

In 1650 a tract, published in Cork, was republished in London, entitled :

"A Declaration and Proclamation of the Deputy-General of Ireland, concerning the Present Hand of God in the Visitation of the Plague, and for the exercise of Fasting and Prayer."

Printed in Cork, and reprinted in London, by J. Field, A.D. 1650.

Archdeacon Cotton, in the Second Edition of his "Typographical Gazetteer," printed in 1831, in the article "Corcagia," says, "the earliest specimen of printing in Cork which had fallen under his observation was a small work, entitled: 'Inquisitio in Fidem Christianorum Hujus Sæculi,' Arthore Rogero Boyle' (12mo. Corcagiæ, 1664).

A copy of this rare and curious work I have seen in the Diocesan Library of Cashel.

But that printing was carried on in Cork earlier by at least fifteen years, appears from the title of the following tract, evidence of which cannot be doubted :

"Certain Acts and Declarations made by the Ecclesiastical Congregation of Archbishops, Bishops, and other Prelates, met at Clanmacnoise, on the 4th of December, 1649.

"Printed at Cork, 25th of February, 1649 (1650), and reprinted in Dublin by W. B., 4to., 20 pp." The Dublin reprint is in the possession of Dr. Cotton.

The printing of books, as well as newspapers, in Cork, down to the middle of the eighteenth century, was very bad—ink, paper, type, and press-work, were all bad.

Among the tracts, to which these observations apply, may be noticed one entitled :

"Apparatus ad Clericorum Institutionem (A Treatise intended for the Roman Catholic Clergy of the Diocese of Cork) Corcagiæ, 1764," and bound up with it an earlier one, entitled "Statuta Synodale," in 12mo.

Printed by McSweeney, Cork, 1758.

In 1679, "The Surprising and Remarkable Predictions of the Holy, Learned, and Excellent James Ussher, late Archbishop of Armagh," were "printed in Cork, by Wm. Smith."

Of Cork early printing, there is a very good specimen, "The Holy Court," in five books, fol., published by Eugene Sweeny, in 1667.

A production of the Dublin press of 1652, "The Christian Doctrine, or the Four Doctrines of the Christian Religion, gathered into Six Principles, necessary for every Ignorant Man to learn. Translated into Irish by Godfrey Daniel, Master in the Arts;" and also "Brief and Plain Rules for the reading of the Irish Tongue." Ps. cxix. 130, "The entrance into Thy word sheweth light, and giveth understanding to the simple."

Printed at Dublin, by Will. Bladen, A.D., 1625.

In an opposite column, on the right, is the same in Irish. The work is written by W. Perkins, and translated by Daniel, who dedicates it to the Parliamentary Commissioners for the Affairs of Ireland. Altogether the book contains ninety-six pages 8vo., having throughout the English on the left hand, and the Irish on the right. It is very rare.*

Authentic records of the introduction of printing into Ireland are exceedingly scanty, and Mr. Ames justly observes, that Ireland was one of the last European states into which the art of printing was introduced, the earliest book at present known being an edition of "The Boke of Common Prayer," printed in Dublin in 1551. The printer of that work, previous to his engaging in the printing business in Dublin, exercised it in London.

A later edition of the Book of Common Prayer was published in Dublin, in 1666, printed by John Crook. The only copy the author of this work ever saw of this edition, existed in the Charlemont Library, Rutland Square, Dublin. The title of this volume is:

"The Book of Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments and Rites and Ceremonies of the Church, according to the use of the Roman Catholic Church of Ireland, together with the Psalms of David, pointed as they are to be sung in the Churches; and the Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons.

* MS. Typographical Notes of Archdeacon Cotton.

"Printed by John Crook, printer to the King's most Excellent Majesty. Sold by Samuel Davey, Dublin, 1666."

The Book of Common Prayer in Lord Charlemont's Library of 1666 is not paged, but the number of pages is four hundred and fifty. In the same 4to. volume is bound up,

"The Psalter, or Psalms of David, to follow after the Translation of the Great Bible, pointed as they are to be sung or said in Churches.

"Dublin: Printed by John Crook, Printer to the King's Most Excellent Majesty. 1664."

The Psalter extends to one hundred and seventy-five pages.

In the same 4to. volume is bound up,

"The Whole Book of Psalms, collected into English Metre, by Thomas Sternhold and John Hopkins, and others.

"Dublin: Printed by J. Crook, 1661."

This book, in Gothic type, extends to one hundred and fifty-two pages.

In 1669 the office of Printer-General to the King in Ireland was granted by patent to Benjamin Tooke, of Dublin. The patent of this appointment exists in the Rolls Office.

For several of the preceding notices I am indebted to a manuscript list of some of the earliest books printed in Ireland of the learned Archdeacon Cotton, an English gentleman, and a dignitary of the Established Church of Ireland,

who has done a vast deal of service to the Irish Ecclesiastical and historical lore of his Church, and who, like all sound scholars, is no less eager to acquire knowledge than ready to impart it. At the period of the printing of the works above referred to, there was no newspaper printed in Ireland.

Some of the genuine original manuscript News-letters, the precursors of newspapers (now so rarely met with), I have found in the possession of Mr. Willis, of Ormond Quay. Each is one foot in length, and ten inches in breadth. Two of them are dated 19th July, 1672, and 8th of October, 1678, each on one page, written on both sides. The News-letter is a manuscript newspaper, briefly stating the chief events of the time; was circulated in manuscript during the infancy of Journalism; and was, in fact, the original and pattern which has been improved into our present newspapers. The form and style of these letters remained, for many subsequent years, in printed Gazettes and News-letters; but copies of the true manuscript News-letters are now rarely seen.

In the Charlemont Library (the fate of which recalls facts that belong to the days of Goths and Vandals) there did exist a poetical production in 4to., entitled:

“The Wish. Being the Tenth Satyr of Juvenal, a Pindarical Poem.

“Printed by Benjamin Tooke, 1675.”

The name of the place where this remarkable production was printed is not to be found in the title-page, but in the Dedication sufficient proof is to be seen that it was printed in Cork:

“Dedicated to the Protestant Gentry and Nobility and Soldiery of Ireland. But more especially to the Worshipfull the Mayor, Aldermen, Common Council, and Inhabitants of the city of Corke.”

This very singular poetical brochure is in small 4to., (pp. 34) descriptive of the character of the natives, their manners, peculiarities, and their modes of expressing themselves, illuminated by specimens of their conversation, intermixed abundantly with phrases in common use in the Irish language. There are evidences in this poem of close observation of the Irish character, and most intimate acquaintance with the modes of thought and expression of the lower orders of the Irish people.

In the library of the Earl of Charlemont there were several rare tracts relating to Irish affairs. We find at the date 1675 a very remarkable production of one of the English soldiers of the Pale, entitled:

“The Moderate Cavalier; or the Soldier’s Description of Ireland and of the Country Disease, with Receipts for the same.

“From Gloster’s siege, till arms lay down
In Trewroe’s field, I for the crown,
Under St. George, marched up and down, and then, sir,
For Ireland came and had my share
Of blows, not lands, gained in that warre;
But God defend me from such fare again, sir.

“A book fit for all Protestants in Ireland.”

Printed Anno Domini, 1675.

It certainly lacks none of the requisite qualities of rabid hate of the people of Ireland to render it fitted for such readers as those of “the Pale,”

CHAPTER IV.

THE FIRST ENGLISH VERSION OF THE AUTHORISED BIBLE
PRINTED IN IRELAND.

1714.

It is very marvellous, considering the professions of piety of our Puritan *conquistadores*, and the civilising influences of the English Pale in Ireland, its efforts "to reduce the Irish to civilitie," how long the Bible remained unprinted in Ireland, after the introduction of the art into the principal countries of Europe, and especially after the printing of the first Bible in England.

In 1652, when Ireland, in the language of the author of the best work that has been written on the subject of "The Cromwellian Settlement of Ireland," Mr. John Prendergast, was "reduced to a howling wilderness;" but still, while the work of exterminating the Irish was being carried into effect, we find that when orders were

given by the military commanders for issuing stores, Bibles were occasionally "served out" to Cromwell's troopers, and included in the requisitions. Thus an order to that effect is cited by Mr. Prendergast:

"Dublin, 3rd of August, 1652.

"Ordered: That the Governor of Dublin do give warrant to the Commissary of Stores in Dublin, according to muster, to issue the Bibles, now in the stores, in the several companies of foot, and troopes of horse, within the said precinct of Ireland, according to muster, that is to say, one Bible to every file."

Again we find an order to serve out Bibles to the soldiers, addressed

"To the Storekeeper at Limerick or Galway.

"Drogheda, 17th of August, 1652.

"You are desired forthwith to deliver out of the stores under your charge, one hundred Bibles, unto Mr. Robert Clark, or whom he shall appoint to receive the same, to be by him disposed of for the use of the forces and others, as may bee for the propagation of the Gospell within the presinct of Galway, as he shall see cause." *

The tenderness of the care of the Commonwealth for the spiritual wants of the soldiers it had let loose on the people of Ireland, is very obvious in these Requisitions.

The "Higher Powers," by whose orders the Bibles were served out by the Irish Commissariat, along with the arquebusses, sabres, blunderbusses, swords, bayonets,

* "The Cromwellian Settlement," pp. 14, 15.

&c., could not be ignorant that the war which was carried on, was a war of extermination.

"It is manifest from these laws," of the English Pale in Ireland, says Sir John Davies, "that those who had the government of Ireland, under the Crown of England, intended to make a perpetual separation and enmity between the English settled in Ireland and the native Irish, in the expectation that the English should, in the end, root out the Irish." *

Spenser, in his "View of the State of Ireland," speaking of the war of extermination waged in his time, and long subsequently commended by him to Essex to be again resorted to, says:

"In one year and a half they," the Irish, "were brought to such wretchedness as any stony heart would have rued the sight. Out of every corner of the woods and glens they came forth on their hands, for their legs could not bear them; they looked like anatomies of death, and spoke like ghosts crying out of the grave; they flocked to a plot of water cresses as to a feast, though it afforded them small nourishment, and ate dead carrion, happy when they could find it, and soon after scraped the very carcasses out of the graves." †

The gentle poet who described the horrors of this species of warfare, recommended the adoption of it in a later war against Hugh O'Neil, Earl of Tyrone.

The war in Ireland in 1650, was of the same nature as the war in 1580—a war of extermination. The

* Sir John Davis's "Historical Tracts." Dub., 1787, p. 258.

† Spenser's "View of the State of Ireland, in the year 1593."

Government that carried it on, and had Bibles sent to Ireland to be served out by the commissariat with the other military stores, must have known perfectly well, if their troops in Ireland read those Bibles, and were influenced by the Divine doctrine of charity inculcated therein, and the precepts and the practice of our blessed Saviour, they could not have done the diabolical duty they had undertaken to do for the Commonwealth. But the men in authority were no less aware of the use to which it was intended the Word of God was to be converted, one not less deadly than that of which the sword was the instrument.

Of what avail to the soldiers of Cromwell or his commanders would it be to plead a conscientious objection to aid and assist in such a war; if, moved by the teachings of the Gospel, the soldiers had determined to fulfil their obligations to religion, and to abandon those duties they had undertaken to perform for their employers—to put to the sword multitudes of human beings, whom it was the policy of their superiors to exterminate—of what avail would it be to those in mutiny to plead the doctrines of Christ—of love and of mercy—they had found in that Bible which had “been served out” to them to read for their soul’s profit? It would be in vain for them to say—

“ We men are men.
Let us then lose our oaths to find ourselves,
Or else we lose ourselves to keep our oaths.
It is religion to be thus foresworn,
For charity itself fulfils the law—
And who can sever love from Charity?” *

* “ Love’s Labour Lost.” A. iv., s. 8,

Gigantic hypocrisy truly is a great power in a state that has reverence for religion on its tongue, and the worship of Mammon and the lust of dominion in its heart.

Let us fancy the blood-stained hands of Cromwell's commissaries employed in "serving out the Bibles," and perhaps interlarding military oaths, whilst so doing, with texts from the sacred books they were contaminating with their touch—

" Mark you this, good reader—
The Devil can cite Scripture for his purpose.
An evil soul producing Holy Writ,
Is like a villain with a smiling cheek,
A goodly apple rotten at the heart.
Oh, what a goodly outside fashion hath ! " *

The gigantic hypocrisy of the entire *regime* of the English Pale in Ireland, has never indeed been sufficiently laid bare and exhibited to the world in all its revolting sordidness and meanness, fearful of detection, yet never deterred from crimes of rapacity and oppression by any sense of fear or shame.

The honour is claimed for Belfast of the introduction of the art of printing into that town in 1696, by James Blow and his brother-in-law, Patrick Neil, both printers, who were brought over from Glasgow, as it is alleged by Mr. Berwick, in his "Historical Collections relating to the town of Belfast," by invitation of Mr. Crawford, who was sovereign of Belfast in the year 1696, Blow and Neil entered into partnership in that town.

* " Merchant of Venice." A. i., s. 1.

In 1704, Neil having died, the printing business was continued by Blow, who, about 1716, printed, it is said, the first edition of the Bible in Ireland, and some succeeding editions. Mr. Berwick gives as his authority for this statement "The Belfast News Letter," but mentions no date or number.

A person of authority in archæological matters, Mr. Hodgson, in "The Ulster Archæological Journal," No. IX., p. 76, mentions a statement made in a work entitled, "Belfast and its Environs," by J. H. Smith, A.M., M.R.I.A., that "in 1716 there was printed in this town (Belfast), by James Blow, the first edition of the Holy Bible that was printed in Ireland." And this statement Mr. Hodgson confirms.

The alleged printing of the Bible in English in Belfast, in 1704, or in 1716, or in 1714, has been the subject of much controversy since the publication of a remarkable communication of William Pinkerton, Esq., F.S.A., in "Notes and Queries," for March 11th, 1865 (3rd Ser., VII.), but no later communications in the same journal have thrown much light on that subject.

The following extracts from Mr. Pinkerton's paper, give the main facts of it, fairly set forth :

"BLOW'S BELFAST BIBLE.

"In Mr. Berwick's 'Historical Collections relating to the Town of Belfast' (Belfast, 1817), there is the following passage under the date 1696:—

“ ‘The art of printing was introduced into Belfast this year by James Blow and his brother-in-law, Patrick Neill, who came over from Glasgow by invitation from Mr. Crawford, then Sovereign of Belfast, who entered into partnership with them. After the death of Neill, the business was continued by Blow, who, about the year 1704, printed the first edition of the Bible in Ireland, and many succeeding editions.’

“ Mr. Berwick gives the ‘Belfast News Letter’ as his authority, without reference to date or number, and I may observe that Mr. Crawford was not Sovereign in 1696, though he held that office in 1693 and 1694.

“ Again, in a ‘History of the Rise and Progress of Belfast,’ by J. A. Pilson (Belfast, 1846), will be found, under the date 1704, as follows :

“ ‘The first Bible ever printed in Ireland was published this year by Messrs. Blow and Neill at Belfast.’

“ Again, in ‘Belfast and its Environs,’ by J. H. Smith, A.M., M.R.I.A., the following notice, at p. 54 :

“ ‘In 1716 there was printed in this town (Belfast), by James Blow, the first edition of the Holy Bible produced in Ireland.’

“ In the ‘Ulster Journal of Archæology (No. 9, p. 76), there is a communication from Mr. John Hodgson—whose mere name alone, on a question of this kind, is a great authority—corroborating Mr. Smith. There is also a notice of Blow’s Bible in Bohn’s ‘Hudibras;’ and later still we find in Bohn’s ‘Lowndes’ Bibliographer’s Manual’ (in Vol. i., part i., p. 189), the following entry :

“ ‘The Bible, Belfast, James Blood, 1716, 8vo. First Edition of the Scriptures printed in Ireland. An error occurs in a verse in Isaiah. ‘Sin no more’ is printed *Sin on more*. The error was not discovered until the entire impression (8,000 copies) were bound and partly distributed.’

“ This is circumstantial enough (adds the writer),—the size of the book, the number of copies, even the very error—but it is nevertheless apocryphal. There is no such verse or passage in Isaiah as ‘Sin no more,’ at least I cannot find it, and Blood is evidently a typographical error for Blow, not requiring further notice. But what is really worthy of attention is, that there are several distinct authorities asserting that the first Bible printed in Ireland was printed at Belfast in 1716, while in the British Museum there is an excellent folio edition of the Authorised Version of the Scriptures that once belonged to the celebrated Archbishop Synge, bearing on its title-page the following imprint:

“ ‘DUBLIN : Printed by A. RHAMES, for WILLIAM BINAULD at the *Bible*, in Eustace Street, and ELIPHAL DOBSON, at the *Stationers’ Arms*, in Castle Street, MDCCXIV.’

“ Here, then, is conclusive testimony that the alleged Blow’s Bible of 1716 was not the first printed in Ireland. I use the word alleged advisedly, for the bibliographers who have made the various editions of the Bible their particular study do not mention it. The writer, after many years’ search, under rather favourable circum-

stances, has never been able to see it, or even to meet with anyone who had seen it; and, consequently, is now led to believe that it never had an existence. The well-known Irish antiquaries, the Messrs. Benn, of Glenravel, have assiduously hunted among the old Presbyterian families in the north of Ireland, but in vain; Jas. Blow's descendants, still alive in Belfast, know nothing of it. Mr. G. Benn, in his very valuable 'History of the Town of Belfast (Belfast, 1823), with his usual good judgment, omits all reference to the alleged Blow's Bible. Nor in the 'History of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland' (London, &c., 1858), probably the most accurate ecclesiastical history ever compiled, written by that most conscientious and liberal-minded gentleman, the late Dr. Reid, is this Bible noticed. No man was better acquainted with the early typography of Belfast than Dr. Reid; he expressly mentions Blow and Neill, and would certainly have been most gratified to observe that they had printed a Bible in Belfast—the first printed in Ireland!—if he could have found sufficient authority for doing so.

"But *audi alteram partem*. In the Rev. H. Cotton's 'Typographical Gazetteer' (Oxford, 1831), I read under the heading of Belfast, at p. 29, as follows:

"'In 1714 James Blow printed the works of Sir David Lindsay, a Bible, Prayer-Book, Psalms in Metre, and twenty or thirty other books.'

"A copy of this very curious edition of Lindsay's 'Works' is now before me. . . .

"The following is the imprint on the title:

“ ‘ | BELFAST. | Printed by *James Blow*, and to be sold at his shop. 1714.’

“ The book ends at p. 268, in the old style, thus—
‘ *By Command of King James the Fifth.*’

“ Then follow three unpagged pages of contents, and then two unpagged pages, headed ‘ Books printed and Sold by James Blow in Belfast.’ Among which I find—

“ The Holy Bible, in several volumes.

“ The New Testament of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.

“ The Psalms of David, in Meter.

“ The Bible, the best New Year’s Gift; containing the Contents of the Old and New Testament in verse.

“ This last-mentioned work is also found in a list of books ‘ printed and sold by Patrick Neill and Company, at his shop, Belfast,’ at the end of The Psalms of David, in Meter. Belfast: Printed by Patrick Neill and Company, and Sold at his Shop. 1700.’ This very remarkable volume is inscribed, ‘ David Smith’s Gift to Belfast Meeting House, 1705,’ and is carefully preserved among the archives of the First Presbyterian Congregation, Belfast, of which D. Smith’s descendants are still members.

“ Besides the above, there are twenty-eight other well-known trade books—such as Bunyan’s ‘ Pilgrim’s Progress,’ ‘ Academy of Compliments,’ &c. Only two books that are actually known to have been printed by Blow are in the list; one is ‘ The Warks (*sic*) of Sir David

Lindsay;’ the other is the work quoted as ‘Presbyterian Loyalty,’ written by Dr. James Kirkpatrick, the first minister of the Second Presbyterian Congregation of Belfast.

“ Two of the works, we know, were *printed* by Blow, and if the other two had merely been *sold* by him, the words at the head of the list would still be correct. If Blow did not print a Bible, the error must have arisen in this manner. Probably Mr. Cotton, now the Venerable Archdeacon of Cashel, founded the extract I have given from his ‘Typographical Gazetteer’ upon this very copy of David Lindsay’s ‘Works.’ At any rate he considered it untrustworthy, for in his ‘Editions of the Bible and Parts thereof in English, from the Year MD. to MDCCCL, second Edition, Corrected and Enlarged (Oxford, 1851), this most skilful of bibliographers does not notice Blow’s Belfast Bible.

“ I may add that there was no patent required to print a Bible in Ireland, so that Blow might have printed as many as he thought proper. But I consider that the want of education, and limited number of Bible readers then in Ireland, would render the speculation of printing a Bible an exceedingly unremunerative one. Excellent English Bibles were then printed in Holland, and Belfast may have been supplied from thence. For Bible printing being then in Scotland a strict monopoly, it followed, as a matter of course, that the Bibles were most wretchedly printed. And even so late as 1824, when Principal Lee, of Edinburgh University, opposed

this monopoly, showing how badly the Scottish Bibles were printed, in some instances the word Judas being indecently substituted for Jesus, his 'Memoir in favour of the Edinburgh Bible Society' and against the monopolists, was suppressed and interdicted by order of the Court of Sessions.

(Signed) "WILLIAM PINKERTON, F.S.A.

"Hounslow."

In the above communication reference is made to the statement in Lowndes' work, to the effect that Blow's Belfast Bible had been suppressed on account of an error in a verse of Isaiah—"Sin no more" being printed "*Sin on more.*" Pinkerton states he can find no such passage, at least he could not find it as "Sin no more." It is to be found, however, not in Isaiah, but in the Gospel of St. John, chap. viii., verse 11.

A very ample acquaintance with this controversy, to which I have given a great deal of research, enables me to say with confidence, that it has been stated by Mr. Pinkerton very fully and very fairly, and that it may be concluded, with the strongest probability, that Blow printed no Bible in Belfast prior to 1755, and that with certainty we may say, if he printed an English version of the Bible in 1716, as Lowndes states (of which edition, however, not a copy exists in any public library in Ireland, nor in the possession of any private collector, as far as my knowledge goes), still that edition was not the

first Bible in the English language printed in Ireland, for I have in my own possession an English Authorised Edition of the Bible (small folio) printed by Aaron Rhames, for W. Binauld and Eliphah Dobson, at the Stationers' Arms, in Castle Street. 1714.

This edition is the same described by Mr. Pinkerton as the Bible belonging to Archbishop Synge.

In "Notes and Queries" for November 1865, (3rd Ser., VIII.) a correspondent referring to the Belfast Bible Controversy (3rd Ser., VII.) says: "Some time since a correspondent wrote doubting if ever a Bible existed printed by James *Blew* (*sic*). I have in my collection (a Bible) printed in 1755. 'Belfast: James Blew, for Grierson. Dublin.'

(Signed)

"FRANCIS FRY."

One would hardly imagine the writer of this communication was the author of a celebrated historical and critical work, illustrative of Bible Bibliography. The Grierson referred to was an eminent Dublin printer. There was no printer in Belfast of the name of Blew; there was one there of the name of Blow, and it is not very likely he would have mistaken his own name, in a book of his own printing.

I have had in my possession an Authorised English Version of the Bible, in 8vo., printed by Grierson, Dublin, in 1755, but the name of Blow or Blew, is not to be found in the title, or elsewhere.

James Blow, the Belfast printer, by whom the first English Bible printed in Ireland is said to have been published, was brother-in-law of Boulter Grierson, King's printer, of Essex Street, Dublin, by whom an 8vo. Edition of the Holy Bible was printed in 1758.

This edition is a great improvement in point of typography and paper to the 4to. one in my possession, "printed by A. Rhames, for Dobson, at the Stationers' Arms, Castle Street, Dublin, in 1714."

It is remarkable that the same year, 1714, in which Rhames' edition of the Holy Bible appeared, was that in which Blow's alleged first Bible in the English tongue is said by some to have been printed. Dr. Cotton, it will be borne in mind, in his "Typographical Gazetteer," Oxford, 1831, 8vo., says "it was late when the art of printing was introduced into Ireland, the earliest Irish printed book at present known being a folio edition of *The Book of Common Prayer*, printed by H. Powell. Dublin. 1551, now existing in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin."

It is a very curious circumstance that not a single copy of Blow's Bible, said to have been printed in 1714, and so described in the advertisements of Blow's publications, is known to exist in any library, at home or abroad. Can it be that, for trade purposes, Blow, after printing in Belfast the Bible in question, in 1714, entered into an arrangement with Dobson, of the Stationers' Arms, Castle Street, Dublin, for the publication, in Dublin, of that edition of the Holy Bible which

is described on the title-page as "printed in folio, by A. Rhames, for E. Dobson, in 1714."

It seems to have escaped the attention of the principal writers who have been engaged in the controversy about the alleged English Authorised Version of the Scriptures, printed as stated in Belfast in 1714, or 1716, that the Authorised Bible of the Protestant Church from the time of James I. could only be printed in four cities—London, Oxford, Edinburgh, and Dublin.

The death of Mr. James Blow, the eminent printer of Belfast, is thus recorded in Faulkner's "Dublin Journal" for August 25th, 1759:

"Last week, after a short illness, died in Belfast, Mr. James Blow, printer, who, during the course of a very long life, being eighty-three years of age, maintained a fair, unblemished character. He was a trusty, good man, exemplary in private life, sincerely pious and assiduous in the exercise of his religious duties. He was of a humane and generous disposition, and renowned for his liberality as a benefactor of the poor. . . . It is remarkable that he was the first in this kingdom who printed the Bible, of which he published a great many editions."

And in the "Grand Magazine," printed by James Hoey, Dublin, for September, 1759, we find another obituary notice of James Blow, which concludes with these words:

"He was the first who printed the Bible in that kingdom."

The latter part of that statement is not correct; James Blow may have been the first person who printed an English version of the Scriptures in Ireland; but the Bible, translated into Irish, was printed in the Irish character upwards of half a century before any books were printed in Belfast by Blow.

Very recently I was present at a book sale, at which an exceedingly rare tract, in 12mo., printed by James Blow, of Belfast, in 1722, was sold, the existence of which was quite unknown to writers on Typographical subjects—to Archdeacon Cotton, Dr Todd, and Lowndes, when it came to the hammer at an auction of books, at Mr. Lewis's sale room, in the early part of June 1866. This tract, with five or six other publications was bound in a volume of 12mo. size. It is entitled:

“Catechism in Irish, with the English placed over it in the same Karakter, together with Prayers for Sick Persons, and a Vocabulary explaining the Irish words.

“Printed by James Blow, Belfast, 1722.”

It was secured, for Trinity College Library, by a gentleman better qualified than most men to appreciate its value and typographical importance—the Rev. Dr. Todd.

I may observe that the words commencing with the letter “C” in this Catechism, in English and Irish with few exceptions have a “K” substituted for it.

About the same time another work is known to have been printed by Blow. A well-known writer and literary archæologist of the present time, who communicates

occasionally with "Notes and Queries," using the initials J. O., in the number for March 25th, 1865, referring to the Blow Bible controversy, says:

"Mr. Pinkerton, if he should not be aware of it, may like to hear that James Blow continued to gratify the Scoto-Irish love for Scottish poetry by publishing—

"'The Life and Acts of the most famous and valiant Champion, Sir W. Wallace, Knight of Ellerslie, Maintainer of the Liberty of Scotland,' &c. Belfast: printed by James Blow, and are to be sold at his shop. 1728."

In the "Belfast News-letter and General Advertiser," for November 21st, 1760, there is an advertisement of books for sale printed and published by Daniel Blow, of Belfast.

This Daniel Blow was certainly the successor, and probably, the son of James Blow, the Scotchman, who introduced the art of Printing into Belfast, in 1696.

Boulter Grierson, the Dublin printer, the brother-in-law of James Blow, the Belfast printer, I find by advertisements of his, was a printer and publisher of works in Dublin, and King's printer, so early as 1716, and in 1770 his name appears in the Dublin "Directory," and is still described as King's printer, living in Parliament Street.

He attained the highest eminence in his business, and for many years before his death had been King's printer.

A member of the Grierson family, George Grierson, an eminent Dublin printer, was the husband of a lady greatly distinguished for her literary attainments.

The earliest mention I find of the name of George Grierson is in the colophon of a tract entitled :

“The Freeholder’s Answer to the Pretender’s Declaration.

“Printed by George Grierson, Essex Street, Dublin. 1715-16.”

This paper exists in the first volume of the “Collection of Irish Tracts,” (five vols. folio) in the MS. room of the Library of Trinity College, Dublin.

In 1782 Boulter Grierson was not living. I have had in my possession a copy of the Bible that had been printed by him in 4to., with the following impress :

“Printed by D. Hay, Executor of Boulter Grierson, Parliament Street, Dublin.”

In 1782 the name appears in the Dublin “Directory,” of George Grierson, King’s printer, in Parliament Street.”

There is a biographical notice of Mrs. Grierson in the “*Anthologia Hibernica*” for May, 1793 (Vol. I., p. 328), wherein it is stated that Mr. George Grierson obtained his patent as King’s printer from Lord Carteret. I think there must be an error in this statement. Lord Carteret filled the office of Viceroy from August 22nd, 1724, to September 11th, 1731.

The appointment, we are told, was given by Lord Carteret to George Grierson, on account of his lordship’s appreciation of the distinguished intellectual characteristics of Mrs. Grierson ; and that her name was inserted in the patent, to secure the advantages of it to her in the event of her surviving Mr. Grierson.

Mrs. Constantia Grierson was born in the County of Kilkenny, about the year 1706, and was married at an early age to Mr. George Grierson. She was not only a woman of great learning, a writer of several admirable productions in prose and verse, but a compositor of much skill. She was an excellent classical scholar, well versed in Greek and Roman literature, and not unacquainted with philosophy and mathematics. A striking proof, we are told, was given by her to Lord Carteret, of her knowledge of the Latin tongue in her English edition of Tacitus presented to him, and by her edition also of Terence, to his son, to whom she also addressed a Greek sonnet. She wrote many fine poems, but attached so little importance to them that few copies of them were circulated, and they are now scarcely known.

“Learning in her was but obeying a strong natural impulse: all her attainments were by the force of her own genius and uninterrupted application. She was not only happy in a fine imagination, a great memory, an excellent understanding, and exact judgment, but all these were crowned by piety and virtue: she was too learned to be vain, and too wise to be conceited. She died at the age of twenty-seven, in the year 1733.”

George Grierson, the husband of the celebrated Mrs. Constantia Grierson, was established at the sign of “The Two Bibles,” in Essex Street, certainly from 1709. Mrs. Grierson died in 1733, at the age of twenty-seven.

A son of hers, by George Grierson—George Abraham Grierson, attained a high character for wit and learning, and became an intimate friend of Samuel Johnson; he died in 1755, in his twenty-seventh year. His father, George Grierson, died in 1753, at the age of seventy-four.

In the several accounts of early printed English versions of the Scriptures, that issued from the Irish press, too little account is taken of the translations of the Vulgate that were printed in Ireland, and none at all of the circumstances under which they appeared. I must endeavour to supply that last-mentioned deficiency.

A work of Archdeacon Cotton, on any subject relating to Irish typographical antiquities, is sure to command and deserve attention. The work here referred to is no exception to that rule.

“Rhemes and Doway: An attempt to show what has been done by Roman Catholics for the diffusion of the Holy Scriptures in English, by the Rev. Henry Cotton, D.C.L., Archdeacon of Cashel, &c. Oxford University Press. 1855.”

In that work we find the following statement of facts in relation to the earliest editions of the Scriptures in English, published with the sanction of Roman Catholic authorities.

“The first attempt which Roman Catholics made to provide the masses of their countrymen with an English version of the Word of God, must be assigned to the year (1582) in which the New Testament of Rhemes was issued, together with the Doway Bible of 1609, has

formed the basis upon which all subsequent editions for general use have been constructed."

In the chronological list of complete Roman Catholic editions of the Bible, or of the New or Old Testaments separately published which is placed at the beginning of that work, the following notices are to be found, in the order of their earliest dates, ranging from 1582 to 1800:—

DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	PLACE.	PRINTER.	SIZE.
1582	The New Testament with Annotations, 1st Ed.	Rheims	Fogny	4to.
1589	The New Testament. The Rhemish and Bishop's Version in parallel columns. By Dr. W. Fulke ...	London	Bollifant	4to.
1600	The New Testament, 2nd Ed. ...	Antwerp	Verutiel	4to.
1601	The New Testament. Rhemish and Bishop's Version. By Dr. Fulke, 2nd Ed.	London	C. Barker	Fol.
1609*	The Old Testament, 1st Ed.	Doway	Kellam	4to.
1617	The New Testament, Rhemish and Bishop's Version. By Dr. Fulke, 3rd Ed.	London	T. Adams	Fol.
1617	The New Testament. Rhemish and Bishop's Version. By Dr. Fulke, 4th Ed.	London	Matthews	Fol.
1621	The New Testament. Newly Translated out of the Latin Vulgate, 3rd Ed.	Antwerp	Seldenslach	16mo.
1633	The New Testament, 5th Ed. By Fulke ...	London	Matthews	Fol.
1633	The New Testament ...	Rouen	Cousturier	4to.
1635	Old Testament, 2nd Ed.	Rouen	Cousturier	4to.
1718	The Four Gospels, translated by Dr. Cornelius Nary.	No Place	No Name	8vo.
	Dr. Geddes says this Edition was printed in Dublin. Dr. Butler states his belief that it was printed in Paris. The fact is to be noticed of its being completed in 1714, though not printed till 1718.			

* "The Holy Bible, Translated from the Vulgate, containing the Old Testament, first published in the English College of Douay, A.D. 1609, and the New Testament, first published by the English College of Rheims, A.D. 1582, the Fifth Edition, Newly Revised after the Clementine Edition of the Scriptures. Dublin: Printed by Hugh Fitzpatrick, for Richard Cross, No. 23, Bridge Street, Dublin. 1791."

TABLE—Continued.

DATE.	DESCRIPTION.	PLACE.	PRINTER.	SIZE.
1719	Idem	No Place	No Name	8vo.
1730	The New Testament, translated by Dr. Witham, with Annotations, 2 Vols	(Donay)	No Name	8vo.
1733	Idem; with new title-page	No Place	No Name	8vo.
1738	Idem, 5th Ed. Probably published in London.....	No Place	No Name	Fol.
1740	The New Testament, with new title-page. By Dr. Witham...	Dublin	J. Kelly	8vo.
1749	The New Testament. Ed by Dr. Challoner, 1st Edition ...	No Place	No Name	12mo.
1750	The New Testament, ditto, 2nd Edition	No Place	No Name	12mo.
1751	The Bible (Old Testament)	No Place	No Name	12mo.
1752	The New Testament. Ed. by Dr. Challoner, 3rd Edition ...	No Place	No Name	12mo.
1763	The Bible Ed. by Dr. Challoner, 2nd Edition, 4 Vols. ...	No Place	No Name	12mo.
1764	The New Testament. Ed. by Dr. Challoner, 4th Edition ...	No Place	No Name	12mo.
1772	Idem. Ed. by Dr. Challoner ...	London	Coghlan	12mo.
1788	The New Testament. Ed. by Mr. McMahon, 1st Edition. Approved by Dr. Carpenter...	Dublin	P. Wogan	12mo.
1788	The New Testament. Rhemish Version, 6th Edition	Liverpool	Ferguson	Fol.
1791	Bible and New Testament, approved by Dr. Troy, 5th Edition, corrected.....	Dublin	R. Cross	4to.
1792	The New Testament. Editor unknown	No Place	No Name	12m.
1792	Old Testament, from Genesis to Ruth, translated by Dr. Geddes	London	Faulder	4to.
1794	The Bible, approved by Dr. Troy, 6th Edition	Dublin	Reilly	Fol.
1796	The Bible. Dr. Challoner's Version. Ed. by Dr. Hays ...	Edinburgh	Moir	12mo.
1797	The New Testament. Dr. Challoner's Version.....	Edinburgh	Moir	12mo.
1800	The Old Testament, with Annotations	London	Foulder	4to.
Dr. Cotton has omitted from his Catalogue				
1791	The Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments, and no less than six other editions of the Bible, or of the New Testament, printed in Dublin subsequently to 1791, are unnoticed in that catalogue.....	Dublin	Fitzpatrick	4to.

The Roman Catholic prelates and priests of these countries have the same accusations brought against them as the Pope and authorities in general of the Catholic Church have had to deal with, and to refute, over and over, namely, of prohibiting the laity the reading of the Holy Scriptures. But the several refutations of the authorities of the Roman Catholic Church, and in these countries especially, of Dr. Geddes and Dr. Challoner, are passed over, notwithstanding their completeness, as if they never had been made at all; nay, more, the most learned of modern typographical antiquarian writers who have dealt with Irish ecclesiastical matters, the Venerable, and in all respects but one, most enlightened, Archdeacon Cotton, notwithstanding that he has cited, in his work—"Rheimes and Doway," &c., the most important passages of one of the ablest of all those refutations, that of Dr. Geddes, gives the sanction of his great name and authority to the old calumny, and deals, it must be acknowledged, not justly, critically, or historically speaking with his subject, so far, at least, as it relates to the accusation above mentioned.

It is very surprising that Archdeacon Cotton, while he wonders at, and laments the non-existence of any adequate measures for the diffusion of the Scriptures among the Roman Catholic laity on the part of their prelates and priests, passes over the surprising fact, without note or comment, that no English version of the Bible was printed for the Protestant laity of Ireland prior to 1714.

But Archdeacon Cotton's dates and figures, and the record of those several Roman Catholic editions of the New and Old Testament, of both in the same publication, or either, separately, which he has given in a tabular form in his work, "Rheimes and Doway," furnishes a very remarkable refutation of his own argument. We find in that table of editions of the Scriptures printed in English for the use of Roman Catholics, taking into account only such editions as were printed there from 1718 to 1800, no less than eight editions of the Old and New Testament, separately, or both together, which are believed, by persons most competent to form an opinion on the subject, to have been printed in Dublin. But how are the colophons, recorded by Archdeacon Cotton, of the several editions? We look for the printer's name, and find the words "No name;" we look for the place where the book was printed, and we find the words "No place."

Were the editors and printers of these volumes of Holy Writ too modest to affix their names to the copies that were due to their labours? or were they in dread and fear of their lives, in mortal terror of denunciations, and all the penalties affecting Roman Catholic priests, schoolmasters, and the aiders and abettors of all such criminals in the eye of penal law legislation? Of all the versions of the Rheims and Doway Old or New Testaments, printed in England or Ireland during the period I refer to, recorded by Dr. Cotton, I find no less than eleven with these words, where the names of

printers and the places of printing should be inserted—
“No name”—“No place.”

Surely Archdeacon Cotton ought to have called attention to so remarkable a fact, and to the lamentable circumstances of the times to which it should have been attributed, and in justice and Christian charity he should have told his readers—our penal laws have been a disgrace to English rule; they have grievously offended God; they were calculated to degrade our fellow Christians, and it is our duty now, not only to abstain from calumniating them, but to give them all due credit for preserving any portion of the sacred deposit of Christian faith which we profess to believe was once, at least, in its entirety, theirs. Archdeacon Cotton could not be ignorant that so late even as 1707, a highly respectable bookseller, Alderman James Malone, of Skinner Row, was dismissed from his office of printer of the State, and tried in the Queen's Bench, for having printed, in conjunction with one Luke Dowling, a Roman Catholic printer, a book entitled “A Manuall of Devout Prayers,” and having been convicted of that crime, were fined three hundred marks each, and committed to prison.*

* Gilbert's Hist. of Dub., Vol. I., p. 179.

CHAPTER V.

EARLY IRISH PRINTING.—NEWSPAPERS, TRACTS, AND

BROADSIDES.

 1685—1699.

MR. ANDREWS in his "History of British Journalism" (Vol. II., p. 294), devotes a chapter to Irish newspapers, and in the few pages of which it consists, affords one of the most startling examples of the ignorance that prevails in England on all Irish subjects of an historical character. The first and second pages of this chapter the reader is requested to read attentively, and especially to bear in mind the passages which I have had printed in italics, as affording particularly choice specimens of the manner in which Irish history is written for English readers by writers of their own country, by no means unenlightened, by English writers who possibly may have an excellent knowledge of the affairs of Japan, Kamtschatka, Jutland, or Zanzibar, but scarcely any

of Irish ones that is derived from authentic, reliable, and original sources.

“History of British Journalism, by Alexander Andrews, Vol. 2., Chapter XX.

“Irish Newspapers—The first Dublin Paper—George Falkener—The Provincial Press—Waterford—Belfast—‘The Freeman’s Journal’—Dr. Lucas—‘Saunders’ News Letter’—The Government Press Discomfitted—The Organ of the Night: ‘The Union Star’—Number of Papers at the close of the Century.

“In searching for the earliest Irish newspaper, we turn over the mass of papers published in the seventeenth century without finding it. When England was issuing her broad-sheets in flights, and Scotland was beginning to interest herself in public events, Ireland was still. The ‘Warranted Tidings from Ireland’ were all printed in London, *and there may possibly have been no press in the country—certainly there was no newspaper—until the year 1700, when a full-blown daily paper came forth and buzzed the news through Dublin. This was called ‘Pue’s Occurrences,’ and continued for more than half a century. The second Dublin paper was not started until 1728, but that, too, was a daily publication. It was printed by Swift’s George Falkener, and named ‘Falkener’s Journal;’ but it was most carelessly printed and compiled.*

“Dublin was for some time content with two newspapers; but the provinces were evincing a desire for news, and first of all, Waterford, which got a local organ

in 1729, the 'Waterford Flying Post,' 'containing the most material news both foreign and domestic.' This paper, printed on a sheet of writing paper and embellished with the royal and city arms, came out twice a week, and the price was a half-penny,* or one shilling per quarter.

"Apparently, next to Waterford comes Belfast, in which city appeared the 'Belfast News Letter' (a paper still in existence) in 1737.

"These are all the traces of a newspaper press which we can find in provincial Ireland during the first half of the century. Let us return to Dublin.

"In 1763 there bounded into public favour a newspaper nurtured by a committee of United Irishmen, and named the 'Freeman's Journal.' This new and popular Dublin paper was put under the management of Dr. Lucas, who, by his talent and energy, won for it the highest position from the very first, and got such men as Grattan, Flood, Burgh, and Yelverton for his coadjutors. Its influence increased when its editor was returned to Parliament as one of the representatives of the city of Dublin, but it waned on his death in 1774, falling behind 'Saunders' News Letter,' which had been started about the same time and now took the lead.

"The 'Dublin Gazette' seems up to this time to have been less of an official organ than the 'London Gazette,' for we find an Order of Council, dated March 18th,

* It will be remembered that the Newspaper Stamp Act of 1712 did not extend to Ireland.

1776, *prohibiting its publishing any news not guaranteed by Government.*

“The Government, recognising the power of the press, and finding that it was all exerted against itself in Ireland, used every means to induce and encourage the establishment of an organ in Dublin—but in vain. *No printer would run the risk to his windows, if not to his life, of printing a newspaper on the Government side, so in 1780 a press and types, and a staff of English editors, printers, and compositors were sent out, and a paper started with the title of the ‘Volunteer Evening Post’ professing to advocate the popular side. At last it was found wavering—the secret oozed out, and an Irish mob was up. The editor fled for his life and got away, but the printer, less fortunate, fell into the hands of the populace, and was carried to the Tenter Fields, and tarred and feathered. The paper broke down, and the press, types, and materials were advertized for sale; but no one would have anything to do with the obnoxious Saxon things, and after three years, printers, plant, and all were fetched back to England. The Government did not improve the temper of the people by the trumpety prosecutions of its press. In 1790 the printer of the ‘Dublin Morning Post’ stood in the pillory on College Green, for what was called a seditious libel on the Queen—the reprinting from the London papers of a passage which asserted that ‘the —— was formerly a very domestic woman, but now gives up too much of her time to politics.’”*

The following are the most notable of the glaring errors in the three first pages of Mr. Andrews' account of Irish Journalism:—

Error No. 1. The earliest Irish newspaper is not to be found existing in the seventeenth century.

2. Certainly there was no newspaper (printed in Ireland) until the year 1700.

3. The first Irish newspaper was called "Pue's Occurrences."

4. The second Dublin newspaper (George Faulkner's "Dublin Journal") was not started till 1728.

5. The provinces evincing a desire for news, first of all, Waterford got a local organ, in 1729, the "Waterford Flying Post, &c."

6. Apparently, next to Waterford, comes Belfast, in which city the "Belfast News Letter" appeared in 1737.

7. In 1763 there bounded into public favour a newspaper, nurtured by a committee of *United Irishmen*, and named the "Freeman's Journal." *

8. The influence of the "Freeman's Journal" increased, when *its editor* (Dr. Lucas) got into Parliament. †

9. It (the "Freeman's Journal") waned on his (Dr. Lucas') death, in 1774. ‡

So far for Mr. Andrews' historical account of Irish journalism from its origin to the period of the Rebellion

* No committee, society, or club of "United Irishmen" had an existence till October, 1791.

† Dr. Lucas never was editor of the "Freeman's Journal."

‡ Dr. Lucas died November 4th, 1771.

of 1798, and Union of 1800. But when he treats of the later epochs and the newspapers connected with them, the history of Irish periodical literature is done in a very astounding manner.

We are told by Mr. Andrews, in his "History of British Journalism" (Vol. II., p. 295), "*It may well be supposed that during the agitation of the Union, in 1797-98, the press was roused to stormy action. Sedition was uttered, treason called patriotism, and murder hidden under the name of political justice. The most violent paper was the 'Union Star,' under the management of Arthur Young, who had previously been proposing rebellion in the 'Press,' and he was assisted by Thomas Addis Emmet, and the other chiefs of the 'United Irishmen' insurrection. Thomas Moore wrote one letter in it, which so frightened his mother that she got him to pledge himself not to repeat it.* And well might the good lady be alarmed, for this was the kind of language held by the 'Union Star':— 'We here offer to public justice the following detestable traitors as spies and perjured informers,' and then follow the names and descriptions of the parties denounced. 'Let the indignation of men be raised against the impious wretch who profanely assumes the title of reigning by the grace of God, and impudently tells the world he can do no wrong.' The king is also called 'an impious blasphemer,' told 'his fate is inevitable,' and reminded, in a pleasant vein, that 'the*

* Russell's "Journals, Correspondences," &c., of Moore, Vol. I., p. 55.

first professor of his trade has recently bled for the crimes of the craft,' and 'that his own throne is tottering.'* Assassination is thus recommended as meritorious: appealing to 'the noble and venerated name of Brutus,' the writer goes on in this strain: "Yes, prince of patriot assassins! thus we defend assassination, and clear it from the rubbish of ignorance and falsehoods of despotism, which were too often successful in confounding the characters of the man who destroyed a tyrant, and him who, to gratify private revenge, or urged by avarice, might sell himself to murder an innocent fellow-creature.' Have we not heard some such detestable doctrines preached in our own times? But this is the language in which the 'Union Star' points out victims for this divine right:—

" 'The "Union Star" offers to justice the following detestable traitors!

" 'Perhaps some arm, more lucky than the rest,
May reach his heart, and free the land from bondage.'

" '1. William Bristow, sovereign of Belfast: by trade a minister of the Church of England. The infernal mountebank unites the cruelty of an inquisitor to all the chicanery of a vicious priest.

" '2. Chichester Skeffington, high sheriff of the county of Antrim. This villain inherits all the vices of tyranny as a descendant of the first English robber.

" '3. Fairbrother; about five feet three inches high, ruddy complexion; a clothier in Tenter's Lane, in the liberty—one of Corbally's jury.

* Gifford's "Life of Pitt," Vol. III., p. 244.

“ ‘4. Luttrell. This villain is remarkably ill-looking; about five feet five inches high, black complexion, wears a uniform, and his hair in a queue.

“ ‘5. Pettigrew. Five feet six inches high, black complexion, thirty-three years of age: lives in Linen-Hall Street—a serjeant in Dick’s Company—a juryman of Young Hart’s.’

“ And thus it proceeds through a list of nineteen names.

“ This paper was secretly printed and posted up on the walls in the night, and all the efforts of the authorities were for the time unable to suppress it. A reward of seven hundred pounds was offered for the printer, but the secret was faithfully preserved, and the very placards offering the reward were covered over in the night with this dark organ of blood and murder.

“ The number of papers published throughout Ireland had increased far more rapidly than in Scotland. *In 1782 there were only three*; but in 1790 there were twenty-seven, and in 1795 there were thirty-five.”

The English readers of Mr. Andrews’ “History of British Journalism,” in all probability, will take it for granted that, after the preceding details, they require no further information respecting Irish journalism during the period which Mr. Andrews designated that of “The Agitation of the Union, in 1797-8.” There are only two pages of matter on that subject, and therein I find no less than five errors, all of an important nature, gravely affecting the conclusions arrived at by the writer.

1. The "Union Star" was never managed, owned, edited, or written in by any person of the name of Arthur Young. The only writer of any work in Ireland of that name was the eminently loyal English topographer and agricultural statist, Arthur Young. The sole originator, publisher of, and writer for the "Union Star," was Walter Cox, well-known to the Government of the time, and subsequently to the public, to be one of its paid agents.

2. The person who published the "Union Star," had never any connexion with "The Press" newspaper. That paper was originated by Arthur O'Connor, on whose authority I state this fact.

3. No chief of the United Irishmen's Society were in any way connected with, or approved of, the obnoxious principles that were advocated in that infamous paper. I state that fact on the authority of the assurances to that effect made to me by Arthur O'Connor, Dr. M'Neven, and the late William Murphy, of Mount Merrion.

4. "All the efforts of the authorities were for the time unable to suppress it" is a statement utterly at variance with fact and truth. No serious effort was made to suppress it. The originator, and editor, and publisher of that paper in after years admitted that his secret was known to the Government; and it is quite certain he was never molested on account of it.

5. That the number of papers published throughout Ireland "*in 1782 was only three*, but in 1790 there

were twenty-seven, and in 1795 there were thirty-five," is only one of those astounding fallacies and statements of English writers in matters relating to Ireland which, in all sincerity, I think is greatly to be deplored. Three newspapers published throughout Ireland in 1782!!!

I pray my English readers to bear in mind this statement while they are casting their eyes over the following list of newspapers printed and published in Ireland, which I do not take from any books or articles on Irish periodical literature, but from the newspapers themselves in my own possession.

IRISH NEWSPAPERS PUBLISHED IN 1782.

1. The "Dublin Journal," published in Dublin.
2. The "Dublin Evening Post," Ditto.
3. The "Freeman's Journal," Ditto.
4. The "Hibernian Journal," Ditto.
5. The "Morning Post," Ditto.
6. The "Volunteer's Journal; or Independent Gazetteer," by Baldwin, Ditto.
7. The "Volunteer's Journal; or Irish Herald," by Dowling, Ditto.
8. The "Belfast News Letter," Belfast.
9. "Saunders' News Letter," Ditto.
10. The "Dublin Gazette," Ditto.
11. The "Volunteer's Evening Post," Ditto.
12. The "Dublin Evening Post," Cork.
13. The "Connaught Journal," Martin Burke's, Galway.

14. The "Wexford Chronicle," T. M. Vize,
Wexford.
15. The "Ennis Chronicle and Clare Advertiser,"
Ennis.
16. The "Waterford Chronicle," Waterford.
17. The "Waterford Flying Post," Ditto.

I am quite sure there are several other provincial Irish newspapers which I do not possess and have not an account of, that would bring the number up to at least twenty, that were in existence in that year of 1782, in which Mr. Andrews states there were only three.

THE FIRST IRISH NEWSPAPER. 1685.

The "Dublin News Letter." Printed for Thornton, Skinner's Row, by Ray, College Green, Dublin. 1685.

In that great storehouse of information relating to the ancient "History of the City of Dublin," by my friend, J. T. Gilbert, Esq., we find valuable notices of the alleged earliest newspapers of our metropolis. Skinner's Row and Cork Hill were the Paternoster Row of Ireland, upwards of a century and a half ago. Here, Mr. Gilbert states, "the first newspaper published in Dublin made its appearance, in 1685." It was called the "Dublin News Letter," and was printed "by Joseph Ray, for Robert Thornton, at the Leather Bottle, in Skinner's Row." The merit of the discovery of this paper, as the first Dublin newspaper, belongs to Mr.

Gilbert. It was printed on a single leaf, of small folio size, on both sides, and addressed to the public in the form of a letter.*

Robert Thornton, bookseller, lived in Skinner's Row, at the sign of the Leather Bottle, from 1685 to 1718.

What peculiarly characterises a newspaper and distinguishes it from the old news letter, is the publication of it at fixed periods, or, at least, with rare exceptions, at fixed periods. Occasionally the "Dublin News Letter" was published a day later than that fixed for its publication.

The "Dublin News Letter," however, to all intents and purposes was a *bona fide* newspaper.

In the library of the Royal Dublin Society a volume of great value, and of exceedingly great rarity, exists. This volume (small folio size) consists of several sets of very early Irish newspapers, broad-sheets, proclamations, and manuscript news letters.

The "News Letter" newspaper, printed by Ray, College Green, for Thornton, Skinner's Row, Dublin, is the gem of the Thorpe Collection of Tracts in the Royal Dublin Society. This earliest of Irish newspapers is eleven inches and a half in length, and six inches and a half in width. The earliest in the Collection is the 17th. dated the 26th of August, 1685. It consists of a single leaf of paper, printed on both sides. There is only one article of news in it, and that is headed, "London,

* Gilbert's "History of Dublin." Vol I., page 178.

December 27th, 1685." This article is followed by two advertisements, extending to eleven lines. That amount of matter constitutes the first Irish newspaper. The number of these newspapers in this Collection is nineteen. They are all printed on both sides of one leaf. The last of them is of the 29th of December, 1686 (of our style). They were published at no fixed periods, but generally an interval of three or four days took place between the appearance of each number. Accordingly the first number of this "News Letter" must have appeared early in June, 1685.

The "Dublin Intelligence." Printed by Andrew Crook, at Their Majesties' printing office, Ormond Quay (Dublin). 1690-1694.*

This is the first notice that has been given of the "Dublin Intelligence," as a newspaper. At the period of the publication of Mr. Gilbert's "History of Dublin," its existence as such was unknown. In the first volume of the "History of Dublin (published in 1859), at page 178, the statement occurs which I have previously referred to: "Thornton issued the first newspaper published in Dublin, which was styled the 'Dublin News Letter,' printed in 1685, by Joseph Ray, in College Green, for Robert Thornton, at the Leather Bottle, in Skinner's Row. The "Dublin Intelligence" of 1690, is then the earliest newspaper, with one exception, printed in Ireland. The existence of this newspaper as such was unknown to former writers,

* The date 1694 is that of the last number of this periodical seen by me.

some of whom alleged "that 'Pue's Occurences' was the first Dublin newspaper."

I may truly say of the "Dublin Intelligence," of 1690, as a newspaper, what Mr. Gilbert stated of the "Dublin News Letter" of 1685, that "the existence of this publication was totally unknown to former writers." The way it came to my knowledge was the following. In the course of my inquiries in connexion with the subject of this work, I discovered, in the spring of 1864, that a Mrs. Glyn, a dealer in old books, of Mountrath, had in her possession a very remarkable volume of numbers of an early Irish newspaper, called the "Dublin Intelligence." From Mrs. Glynn I learned that she had been *given* the volume in question by the widow of a celebrated collector of Irish music, the late Mr. Bunting, and that she had sold it to Mr. Joly.

It was only necessary to put myself in communication with my friend Mr. Joly, to have access to the volume he justly considered one of the most valuable in his vast collection of eighteen thousand volumes.

On two occasions I have made a long and close examination of the exceedingly rare and valuable volume in the possession of Mr. Joly, which contained the newspaper above referred to. The results of that examination I now lay before my readers.

The volume, of small folio size, consisting of about three hundred pages, contains a considerable number of proclamations of James II. and, subsequently, of William III., news letter sheets, communicating intelligence of

battles, reports of proceedings of Parliament, &c.; but these are occasional publications, not periodical ones, and, therefore, cannot be designated newspapers. About thirty of these printed sheets of intelligence precede the regular newspaper series of the periodical entitled the "Dublin Intelligence." Of the above-mentioned occasional printed sheets of intelligence preceding the true newspaper—the "Dublin Intelligence"—I have made memoranda of the following:

"A full and true Account of the Landing and Reception of the late King Charles, at Kinsale; with the Particulars of the Ships, Arms, and Amunition, Men, and Money that he brought with him from Bristol."

"Licensed April 4th, 1689. James Frazer."

[Then follows the detailed account above referred to, occupying a single leaf, small folio size, printed on both sides.] Colophon:

"London: printed by D. M. 1689."

The next occasional printed sheet of intelligence, one leaf, printed on both sides, small folio, is headed:

"A full and true Account of the Landing of King James II. in Ireland, with a Particular Relation of his Voyage and manner of Reception, and of the Ships, Money, and Arms which he brought along with him from France.

"Imprimatur James Frazer, 22nd March, 1688;" (New Style, 1689). Colophon:

"Baldwin, London, printer, Old Bailey, 1689."

Then follows a number of news letters, upwards of

twenty, detailing the state of affairs from 1689 to 1691, corresponding in size and form to the preceding, all printed in London.

Then follows a news letter of an action fought at Castle Cuffe, the 4th of May, 1691. Details given by Major Wood.

“Dublin: printed for Thomas Thornton.”

This is one of the earliest in the volume of an occasional letter of news, printed in Ireland. It must be noted that King William was then in possession of Dublin, and had been from the 15th of July, 1690 (New Style).

We next come to a letter of occasional news, dated the 8th of June, 1691, headed:

“Account of the Taking of Ballymone, within ten miles of Athlone.

“Dublin: printed according to order.”

Then comes the most valuable and interesting news letter of all the letters of occasional intelligence in the volume:

“A particular and full Account of the Routing of the whole Irish Army at Aughrim, on Sunday, the 12th of July, 1691.”

“A List also of the Principal Persons Killed and Wounded * on both sides.”

This important news letter consists of two leaves, printed on both sides.

* Strange to say the fact of the death of St. Ruth, the French general commanding the Irish army, was unknown when this document was printed; at the foot of the lists of killed and wounded we find it stated—“It is reported that General St. Ruth is wounded.”

"Published by Andrew Crook, on Ormond Quay, for Robert Thornton, of Capel Street."

Among the Irish prisoners of distinction whose names are recorded in the list above mentioned, is Lieutenant-Colonel Edward Madden.

Then follows a very remarkable publication of occasional intelligence, of the same size as the preceding news letters—one leaf—printed only on one side, headed:

"The Last Speech and Confession of Mr. James Geoghegan, of the Order of St. Francis, who was executed at the Common Place of Execution, near Dublin, the 10th of February, 1693 (New Style, 1694).

"Written by his own hand, and presented, at the Place of Execution, to the authorities."

In the statement that follows, bearing on the face of it intrinsic evidence of authenticity, there is an acknowledgement of the unfortunate man, about to suffer death, that he had sworn false accusations against Mr. Broughill, Mr. Garret Nugent, and Mr. Peaton, but declared solemnly that he was innocent of the blood of Archbishop Plunket. The exact words of the declaration are: "but I am innocent of the blood of our Lord Primate Plunket."

At the bottom of the page we find the date of the year only and place of printer—"Dublin, Skinner's Row. 1694."

The "Dublin Intelligence," printed by Andrew Crook, Ormond Quay. 1690-1694

Not the least valuable portion of the early newspaper collection of Mr. Joly is the "Dublin Intelligence." It is not, be it observed, a publication of irregular appearance, of occasional intelligence, or notices of casual occurrences, printed for the occasion, but a regular newspaper, published at fixed periods, extending to one hundred and fifty-two numbers, with the following exception of eight numbers that are wanting in this volume—Nos. 1, 2, 3, 13, 71, 72, 74, 122.

The last number in this volume of the "Dublin Intelligence" is No. 152, to the 14th of October, 1693.

The size of this small folio leaf is less than half the superficial measurement of the "Freeman's Journal" of the present day.

The earliest numbers of the "Dublin Intelligence" in this volume in Mr. Joly's library, is the fourth, for the week from the 14th to 21st of October, 1691—one leaf of small folio, printed on one side only.

The early printed Irish newspapers and other publications in the Thorpe Pamphlet Collection in the Library of the Royal Dublin Society are very valuable. In that collection, several of the numbers of the "Dublin Intelligence" are those which are wanting in the volume of the same newspaper in the possession of Mr Jasper Joly, which that gentleman considered the earliest Irish newspaper. But that opinion is proved to be erroneous by the volume I have just spoken of in the Library of the Royal Dublin Society, containing the nineteen numbers of the "News Letter" printed by Ray, in College

Green, the first number of which in that volume is dated from the 17th to the 27th of August, 1685. Mr. Gilbert is unquestionably right in designating that paper—the “News Letter”—the first newspaper printed in Ireland.

In Trinity College, Dublin, Library, we find a volume of this second earliest newspaper :

“The Dublin Intelligence,” printed by Andrew Crook, Ormond Quay.

The volume existing of this weekly periodical in Trinity College Library, is the most complete collection I have seen. It contains nearly all the numbers from No. 5 to No. 192.

No. 5 is from the 21st to the 28th of October, 1690. No. 192, in the volume, is from the 30th of September to the 14th of October, 1693.

All the early numbers are printed on one side only of a leaf, small folio size.

In the Royal Dublin Society’s Library, the volume of early Irish newspapers, contains many numbers of the “Dublin Intelligence,” printed by Andrew Crook, from 1690 to 1693, including the first number, for 30th of September, 1690. This first number exists in a folio volume, described in the Catalogue as “The Check-Covered Book.

The “Dublin Intelligence” is of the same dimensions as the “News Letter”—eleven inches and a half by six inches and a half. Up to the twenty-first number it was a single leaf, printed on one side only. From the twenty-second number to the twenty-fifth, this news-

paper was printed on one leaf still, but on both sides. The last number of the "Dublin Intelligence" existing in this Collection is No. 130, for May 11th, 1693.

In the Charlemont Library there is a production in verse, printed in 4to., entitled:

"A Poem addressed to Queen Catherine, Dowager Queen, on the Death of her dear Husband, King Charles II., by Mrs Behn.

"Printed by Crook and Helsham, Castle Street, Dublin. 1685."

In the same library we find—

"An Essay on the Memoir of the late Queen, by Gilbert, Bishop of Sarum.

"Reprinted by Joseph Ray, &c., Dublin. 1695."

In 1689, Alderman James Malone, bookseller in Skinner's Row, who had been appointed, conjointly with Richard Malone, King's Printers, by James II., published a Jacobite pamphlet, emanating from the government of James II, in Dublin, entitled:

"A Relation of what most remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, betwixt His Majesty's Army Royal, and the Forces of the Prince of Orange, sent to joyn the Rebels, under the Count de Schomberg.

"Published by Authority. Dublin: printed by Alderman James Malone, bookseller, in Skinner's Row. 1689."

This pamphlet, having evidently been suppressed with great care, is now exceedingly rare. I have in vain sought for it in all the public libraries.

The publisher of this Jacobite pamphlet, in 1707, together with a Roman Catholic printer, Luke Dowling, were tried in the Queen's Bench for publishing a Roman Catholic Prayer Book, called,

“A Manuall of Devout Prayers.”

The two printers, for this crime against the Protestant Religion, of publishing a Prayer Book for the use of Christians professing the Roman Catholic Religion, were convicted, and condemned to pay a fine of three hundred marks, and committed to close imprisonment.*

But on appeal to the Commissioners of Reducements, on taking the oath of abjuration, the fines were reduced to five marks each, and they were released from confinement. But, be it remembered, one of the unfortunate printers who had to take this oath of abjuration of fundamental doctrines of the Roman Catholic Religion was a Roman Catholic, and well-known to be so.

“The Dublin Gazette. Published By Authority in Dublin, by order of His Majesty, James II. 1689.”

The existence of a Gazette, published by Jacobite authority in Dublin, during the time James II. was in possession of the capital, is certain. We have evidence of the fact in April, 1689, in an historical document which I will refer to, and of the fact moreover, that James' idea of the liberty of the press was pretty much the same as the ideas of his predecessor, Cromwell, and his successor and son-in-law, the Third William, on the same subject in Ireland.

* Gilbert's “History of Dublin.” Vol. 1. page 179.

In the war between James II. and William III. in Ireland (1688-1689), Moore, in his "History of Ireland," regrets we have no diurnal or journal extant of passing occurrences of that period, "at all so complete, in point of detail on the Jacobite side, to compete with stormy wars on the Williamite side." The learned editor, translator, and annotator of the "Macariæ Excidium; or, the Destruction of Cyprus," John Cornelius O'Callaghan, Esq., in reference to Moore's observation, says:

"In the first place, amongst those Jacobite military documents, there was a newspaper published in the Irish metropolis, under the appellation of the 'Dublin Gazette,' as we find from the following sentence in some intelligence of the day, printed in London, about the month of April, 1689, upon a broad-sheet, and purporting to be the contents of a letter from a correspondent in Dublin. 'There is,' says the Williamite writer, in this broad-sheet, 'no publick News Letter nor Gazette, suffered to be in any coffee-house, only the "Dublin Gazette," which is a *legend of their own composition*.' A remark, however, that would equally apply to the 'London Gazette,' which was as much 'a legend of their own composition' in London; since, in those days, not any other sheet of news was allowed to be published, without being previously '*licensed according to order*!' From this 'Dublin Gazette' of James, compared with the 'London Gazette' of William, very good means could have been obtained for narrating, in detail, the

events of the Irish war; though so far as the existence, at present, of any file, or even single copy, of that 'Dublin Gazette' (for which the writer of this note has searched in vain), such means, unfortunately, no longer exist. King James' administration also issued printed sheets of military news in Dublin, for the information of his Irish subjects; some of which sheets seem to have been sent to Scotland, for the encouragement of his supporters, the Highlanders there; as would appear from the printed sheet, on the latter portion of the campaign of 1689, against Marshall Schomberg, mentioned by Macpherson, in his State Papers, and designated, 'A Journal of the most Remarkable Occurrences that happened between His Majesty's Army, and the Forces under the command of Mareschal de Schomberg, in Ireland, from the 12th of August to the 23rd of October, 1689. Faithfully collected by James Nihell, Esq., Under Secretary to the Right Honourable the Earl of Melfort, His Majesty's Prime Secretary of State.' James likewise issued at least one pamphlet upon the war in Ireland. Of this exceedingly rare production, the writer of these lines was so fortunate as to meet with a copy, and to be allowed to transcribe it. It is entitled: 'A Relation of what most remarkably happened during the last Campaign in Ireland, betwixt His Majesty's Army Royal, and the forces of the Prince of Orange, sent to joyn the Rebels, under Count de Schomberg. Published by Authority. Dublin: printed

by Alderman James Malone, bookseller, in Skinner's Row. 1619." *

"Letters of News" (In Manuscript).

There are four of these rare documents, the precursors of newspapers, in a volume of the earliest Irish newspapers, existing in the library of the Royal Dublin Society.

These manuscript news letters are of the same dimensions as those I have just referred to. They are addressed from persons in London to persons in Dublin and the provinces. There is no date to the first. The date of one addressed to Amyas Bushe, Esq., Collector, Kilkenny, is the 17th September, 1690. The dates of the other two are in the same month and year.

Several News Letters, in manuscript, are in the possession of Dr. F. Willis, of Ormond Quay, Dublin.

These documents are on single sheets of foolscap paper.

One is dated from Whitehall, 19th July, 1672.

Another ditto 8th October, 1678.

Another ditto 11th January, 1672.

In the Thorpe Collection for 1690-1737, we find several letters of news of one leaf, and sheets of two leaves, printed on both sides, headed:

"Great Newes from Ireland, giving an Account of the Present State of Affairs there, in a Letter from Lisnagarvy, 20th of March, 1690.

* "Macarism Excidium; or, Destruction of Cyprus." Edited and Annotated for the Irish Archaeological Society. By J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq. (4to., 1850, p. 164.)

“Printed and sold in London, by R. Janaway, in Paternoster Row. 1690.”

[Size of paper, eleven inches and a half long, by six inches and a half broad.]

The principal part of the news letters of Irish affairs of 1690 and 1691, &c., in this volume, were printed in London. The exceptions are the following:—

“A Letter from Major Wood, giving an Account of an Action near Castle Cuffe, the 4th of May, 1691.

“Printed for Robert Thornton, Dublin.”

[Size, twelve inches long, by seven inches and a half broad.]

“The Dismal Ruine of Athlone. Examination taken, 30th of October, 1697.

“Printed at Dublin, at the Post Office Coffee House, in Fishamble Street.”

[Same dimensions as the preceding sheet.]

Several others of a similar character, of the same date and dimensions.

In the library of Lord Charlemont there existed a good specimen of Irish printing in 1699.

“The Chase of the Stag. A Descriptive Poem. Dedicated to Her Grace, the Duchess of Ormond.

“Written by George Wilkins, M.B., T.C.D., Dublin.

“Printed for Josias Shaw, on Corn Hill, Dublin. 1699.”

From the year 1699 the increased use of the press in Ireland, and largely augmented publication of State Tracts, especially, became very obvious.

THE STATE OF LITERATURE IN IRELAND, FROM AN
ENGLISH POINT OF VIEW, AT THE CLOSE OF THE
SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

“The Dublin Scuffle: Being a Challenge sent by John Dunton, Citizen of London, to Patrick Cambel, Bookseller, of Dublin,” &c., &c., &c. (London: printed for the Author, John Dunton, by Baldwin, 12mo., 1699), was a very extraordinary production. It affords some curious information on the subject of the book trade in Dublin, as it existed at the close of the seventeenth century.

The author was a Cockney scribbling bookseller, shrewd, enterprising, and exceedingly conceited; afflicted with an incurable mania of recording his experiences, not only of the trade in books, but of society, private as well as public; of life, manners, customs, and religious opinions of the people he came in contact with in foreign countries, which he visited for the purpose of carrying on auctions of books.

On the title page of the book above cited, he calls the attention of the public to a *billet doux* sent to him in Dublin by a citizen's wife, tempting him, which temptation he happily resisted and reprehended severely—“the female devil, a woman, a thing in petticoats, a citizen's wife!” for leading him into temptation. Poor Mr. Dunton thinks it necessary to inform his readers that he is a religious man, although he is a bookseller, and that, although he travelled a great deal in that bar-

barous country, Ireland, "in order to view the cabins, customs, and manners of the wild Irish," yet in all his rambles he had endeavoured, though "he had to fight in Ireland with beasts of both sexes," to preserve his virtue and his religious principles—a matter of no small difficulty—"slavery and Popery had so long and so universal a possession of that country." John Dunton, "citizen of London," was not mad, for he could take care of his own affairs. He was by no means dangerous to himself or others. He made a study of the circumstances, solvency, and extent of business of every Dublin bookseller. He studied moreover, assiduously, the intellectual condition of the people of the several provinces, and the state of the book market in each. Having acquired the information needful for his projects, he instituted a series of book auctions in Dublin, which proved successful in 1689.

A certain Dublin bookseller, named Pat Campbell, having been detected in a design to have a rival book auction, at the coffee house in Skinner's Row, in which Dunton had advertised his sale, the *casus belli* was established, of which the terrible result was the "Dublin Scuffle." What dire events from trivial causes spring! Those in which the worthy bookseller, "citizen of London," involved himself, required no less than five hundred and fifty-four pages of closely-printed matter to be recorded duly in print. Dunton fortunately found a few printers and booksellers in Dublin, amongst a considerable number of that trade, to eulogise—Messrs.

Brent, Powell, and Brocas, all partners in one firm. Brent he describes as a true Nathaniel—honest, simple, and scrupulous. Powell is mentioned as of personal appearance as prepossessing; his own moral qualities were admirable—a man of great wit and humour. Mr. Brocas he describes as the first of Dublin printers in knowledge of his art. “No man in the universe better understands the noble art and mystery of printing than John Brocas, of Skinner Row.”

Mr. Norman, the Dublin bookseller, Dunton informs his readers, is an excellent florist, and has a garden that is a perfect paradise. He sells his books by auction in his very spacious warehouse. “He’s a little, squat man, that loves to live well, and has a spouse that understands preparing good things, as well as the best lady in Ireland.”

Another celebrated Dublin printer, Mr. Andrew Crook, Dunton thus describes: “Mr. Crook, who is a worthy and generous gentleman, whose word and meaning never shake hands, and always go together. . . . Though his circumstances are not so great as those of others, yet his soul is as large as if he were a prince, and scorns as much to do an unworthy action, as any man. He is a great lover of printing, and has a great respect for all that are related to that noble mystery.”

Of another Dublin printer of eminence Dunton says: “Mr. Thornton, the King’s stationer, is a very obliging person—has enough sense for a privy counsellor, and good nature enough for a primitive Christian.”

Never was there a bibliopolist more puffed up with exaggerated ideas of his own importance and that of his calling than John Dunton, "citizen of London, bookseller, by the Grace of God," carrying on that noble calling of selling good English books, which are "the best furniture of a house, and the very epitome of heaven."

Time was, we are told, when Ireland was famous for learning. But the country is sadly altered since that period, when we read of a great student and scholar who came into Ireland to prosecute his studies amongst the enlightened natives of that country—"Ivit ad Hibernas Sophos mirabiles Claros." Now they were "much degenerated." "Learning," he says, "he verily believes, runs low in Ireland," and therefore he (Dunton) went to Ireland to disperse the liberal arts among the Kerns.

The cause of the dire "Dublin Scuffle" between Dunton and the booksellers was the withdrawal of an auction from one locality to another. This region of High Street—Skinner's Row and Cork Hill—a century and a half ago, and long subsequently, was the Paternoster Row of Ireland.

Dunton, though he could not wreak his vengeance on the head of Pat Campbell, the bookseller, revenged himself a good deal on the soil, the sky, and people of Ireland. As for the rain, John Dunton verily believed "it raineth every day in that unhappy land, and invariably all night long." "Ireland is the watering-pot of the planets—le pot de chambre de diable. The

heavens in that country had sore eyes, and they were always weeping, dropping tears perpetually. But there is one good thing in Ireland—the wind. That is generally westerly, which ensures a short passage from it. The towns and cities are thronged like hives, yet being, for the most part thieves and drones, they rather diminish than increase the stock, and were it not for the *honest* English and strangers amongst them, they'd be all starved, I am persuaded, in process of time."

Mr. John Dunton, citizen of London, is not complimentary to the ladies of Ireland of any rank. "The women," he says, "are generally very little beholden to Nature for their beauty, and less to Art. One may safely swear they use no paint, or such like auxiliary aids of *Fucusses*, being so adverse to that kind of curiosity, though they have as much need thereof as any I ever yet beheld, that one would think they never had their faces washed in their lives."

"As to their mis-shapen legs," their manners, morals, and behaviour, poor Dunton, in his charity, is disposed to say of such things as little as possible. Of their chastity he can say nothing good; they have more of the qualities of doves than of turtles in them.*

The preceding account of the women of Ireland, Dunton says applies more to "the better sort of the Teagues. . . . But as for the wild Irish, what are they but a generation of vermin? . . . They love to remove the vermin they abound in, on the highway. I have seen six men at it together, and a mile farther as many

* Dunton's "Dublin Scuffle," 1699. P. 401.

women at the same sport; and what is yet more shameless, the women were half clotheless. . . . If you peep into their cabins, they are not so spacious as our English hog-styes, but not so clean. . . . If you ask why I stay in such a vile country, why, because he that is in a boat with the devil, must land where and when he can."

John Dunton informs his friends in England the Roman Catholic priests and prelates are nearly extirpated in Ireland, their religion almost extinguished, their church actually dying out. "For all their bishops and regular clergy are banished by Act of Parliament, which makes it death to find any of them returned again. So that now they are wholly dependant on their seculars, and every parish is allowed his priest; but when he dies, being none to ordain a new one, it must remain without one, and this will be the state of the whole kingdom in a short time, when the present set of priests shall be extinct. . . .

"They have also another law, that no Papist shall keep a school, nor any one native of a foreign education be admitted to dwell in this kingdom. So that by these Acts I think it will appear plain enough that *the Romish religion is on its last legs in Ireland*, and the present Romanists must conform to the Protestant religion, or live and die without the exercise of their own."

Let it be borne in mind the state of things which afforded such a pleasing prospect of the results of British rule in Ireland, is not of a very distant period—only one hundred and sixty-eight years ago.

Mr. Andrews makes the following reference to that great "Dust," John Dunton:

"A publication somewhat in the style of 'Notes and Queries' was started on the 17th of March, 1689-90, by John Dunton, Richard South, and Dr. Norris (who were afterwards joined by Wesley), under the title of the 'Athenian Gazette,' which, on a suggestion from 'authority,' was altered to the 'Athenian Mercury.' It was soon imitated by the 'Lacedemonian Mercury,' carried on by Mr. Brown and Mr. Pate, and it had sufficient merit to exist for six years, and gained some fame. Sir William Temple sought and gave information in its pages; and, says Dunton, 'Mr. Swift, a country gentleman (who was then with Temple), sent an ode.' It was attacked by Settle in his 'New Athenian Comedy,' but it went on answering queries, now the most abstruse, now the simplest, in a quiet, grave, oracular way, giving here and there a scrap of intelligence, till February 8th, 1695-6, when it was suspended for the following remarkable reasons: 'As the coffee houses have the votes every day, and nine newspapers every week,' Dunton thinks it better to publish his 'Mercury' in quarterly volumes, 'designing to continue it again as a weekly paper *as soon as the glut of news is a little over.*' A selection from this 'Mercury' was afterwards reprinted under the title of the 'Athenian Oracle.'" *

* Andrew's "History of British Journalism," in two vols., 12mo., Lon., 1759. P. 87, Vol. I.

CHAPTER VI.

EARLY IRISH NEWSPAPERS AND MISCELLANIES.

 1700—1750.

THE "Flying Post, or the Post Master." Printed at the back of Dicks' Coffee House, in Skinner's Row, Dublin. 1699—1709.

The only numbers I have seen of this early Irish newspaper exist in the Thorpe Collection of Irish Tracts, in the Royal Dublin Society's Library, and in the third volume of a collection of rare tracts and newspapers, printed in Ireland, in five volumes, small folio, in the library of Trinity College, Dublin (in the Librarian's Room, Press No. 1). This collection contains several newspapers, published at the beginning of the last century, which I have now to refer to; and, first of all, "The Flying Post, or The Post Master."

This newspaper is of the same dimensions as "The Dublin Intelligence," eleven inches and a half by six inches and a half.

The first number is dated the 7th of March, 1699. It is a single leaf, 4to. size, printed on both sides, containing proclamations, addresses, and a royal speech, and a single advertisement. The next number in the volume, is for December 23rd, 1708, and the third and last in the volume referred to, is for February 27th, 1709.

There are some newspapers of the same title in the volume, printed in London, the earliest of which is dated November 28th, 1696.

But there is one printed in Ireland, by Powell and Dickson, of Fishamble Street, Dublin, which is either a flagrant piracy of the paper of the same title, started in 1699, or a continuation of it by other printers and publishers.

“The Flying Post, or The Post Master.”

Printed by S. Powell and F. Dickson, Cork Hill.

I have seen a number, published in 1708, of this paper, which is the same size (small folio), and the same title as the one just noticed.

“The Flying Post, or Post Master,” published by Powell and Dickson, on Cork Hill, Dublin; there are several numbers in the volume previously mentioned, in Trinity College Library. The date of the earliest of these numbers, is the 9th of July, 1705, and the date of the latest of them is the 6th of May, 1709.

Altogether there is evidence enough in the analogous circumstances just mentioned, to set down the paper published by Powell and Dickson, of Cork Hill, as a con-

tinuation of the paper of the same title; the first numbers of which were printed and published in Skinner's Row.

"The Flying Post" professed to give the earliest intelligence from foreign countries. It contains nothing but foreign news. The proprietors took care, in one of their early numbers, to inform the public that "fresh and full news would be printed in their journal, without imposing old trash on their readers."

In 1709 "The Flying Post" (after the removal of the old Post Office from High Street, to Fishamble Street), was published in the old Post Office Yard, in High Street.

This paper, which originally appears to have been a reprint of a London periodical, was a miserable attempt at a newspaper. It is thus described in 1705:—

"The Flying Post; or, The Post Master."

Reprinted at The Crown Inn, St. Patrick Street, Dublin. 1705—1709.

This reprint had no printer's name to the early numbers; but, from November, 1707, the paper was printed by F. Dickson, Cork Hill, Dublin.

"The Dublin Gazette, or Weekly Courant," containing Foreign and Domestic News.

Printed and published by Thomas Hume, in Essex Street, Dublin. 1703—1728.

A few numbers of this journal exist in the collection above mentioned, in Trinity College Library. Size, twelve inches long, by seven inches broad.

The latest number in this collection, is No. 1312, for 13th March, 1728.

It must have commenced in 1703.

"The Dublin Intelligence." First printed in Smock Alley, Dublin. 1705.

"The Dublin Intelligence," one leaf, printed on both sides, quarto size, ten and a half inches long by six inches broad, professed to contain "the chief heads of the foreign and domestic news."

There appears to have been a long interval, previously, in the publication of this periodical; or, rather, to have been two distinct series of it. Of this series, the earliest number I have seen is for the 27th of November, 1705.

It differs very little in size, matter, paper, or printing, from the earliest number of the paper of the same name, for the year 1690. In the volume seen by me, there are altogether ninety numbers of "The Dublin Intelligence;" the last in that collection is for June, 1727.

In the fifth volume, collection of early tracts and newspapers, labelled Irish tracts, in Trinity College, Dublin Library, there are several numbers of this paper.

In 1709, either "The Dublin Intelligence," printed in Smock Alley (no printer's name), had died out, or existed in a journal thus designated :

"The Dublin Intelligence," containing a full and impartial account of the foreign and domestic news.

Printed by the author, Francis Dickson, at the Union Coffee House, on Cork Hill, Dublin. 1709.

The size, quality, and character of the paper, are the same as "The Dublin Intelligence" of 1705.

Some of the earlier numbers of "The Dublin Intelligence" exist in the collection of Irish tracts, in Trinity College, Dublin Library; and several, of a much later date, in the collection called "The Thorpe Tracts," in the library of the Royal Dublin Society, Dublin.

So many newspaper periodicals bearing this title, were published at various times in Dublin, and some at long intervals between their appearance, that it is difficult to determine which of them is the original paper, a continuation, a revival of one, or a new publication altogether.

"The Dublin Intelligence" newspaper, printed by Francis Dickson, ordinarily contained no Irish intelligence, good, bad, or indifferent. Two or three advertisements in each number, reminded readers they were in a country in which some trade was carried on by Irishmen.

Nothing can possibly give a clearer idea of the solid grounds on which a right-minded, able, and conscientious English Editor of a portion of the Irish records has designated his labours—"Fastæ Anglorum in Hibernia"—than the intelligence conveyed to the public in this Irish newspaper. There are persons, by no means insane, who believe that the people of Ireland, in this year of grace, 1866, would not be anything the worse, morally, politically, or religiously, if newspapers of the present time were reduced to the curt dimensions of "The Dublin Intelligence," that catered for the public curiosity of the English metropolis, 160 years ago.

"Pue's Occurrences.

"Printed and published by Richard Pue, at Dick's Coffee House, Skinner's Row, Dublin. 1703—1792."

About 1696, or 1697, Richard Pue, a printer, established a coffee house in Skinner's Row, which got the name of Dick's Coffee House, and soon obtained much celebrity as a rendezvous of literary people, wits, politicians, booksellers, and writers.

About 1700, Gilbert says, Richard Pue commenced the publication of the newspaper which he styled "Pue's Occurrences."

The result of a good deal of enquiry into the origin of this paper, enables me to state that the journal was first published on the 25th of December, 1703.

In the Library of the British Museum there is a volume, of 4to. size, of "Pue's Occurrences," containing numbers from No. 61, of Vol. I., for December 26th, 1704, to No. 7, of Vol. II., for February 9th, 1706. This volume contains the earliest numbers of this periodical that exist in any of the British libraries that I am acquainted with. The length of the several numbers in this rare volume is seven inches and a half, the breadth six inches.

The earliest number of the volume was No. 61; it was professed to be published twice weekly; but it was not published regularly. In the first year there were only sixty numbers published.

The early numbers extended usually from four to eight pages. The matter was not divided into columns.

In No. 63, for January 6th, 1704, the proprietors, in the leading article, say :

“ On Christmas Day last, this paper has been published just a year, in which time there were sixty numbers printed.

(Signed)

“ EDWARD LLOYD,

“ RICHARD PUE.”

Ergo, “ Pue’s Occurrences ” made its first appearance on December 25th, 1703.

The news that occupied the whole space of “ Pue’s Occurrences ” may be thus summarized : The intelligence brought by the English packets usually occupied three-fourths of the entire paper, one page being devoted to advertisements.

There does not exist a perfect set of this newspaper in any library in Ireland, public or private, as far as I have been able to learn.

The earliest volumes of it that exist in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, commencing with Vol. XXVIII., for December 28th, No. 24, for March 27th, 1731. The size then was twelve inches long by ten broad (4to.) It continued of this size till 1736, when it was enlarged to small folio size, and in 1738 to large folio, in which form it continued to be printed so long as it existed. It was published twice weekly, on two leaves of four pages. The foreign and London intelligence usually occupied four columns ; Irish news, including reports of accidents,

murders, and robberies, from a quarter to half a column; advertisements from a page and a half to one and three-quarters of a page.

The latest volume of "Pue's Occurrences," in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, is the sixty-seventh, for 1770, beginning with No. 6866, for January 2nd, 1770. Of the six columns of matter, in two pages, folio, of which it then consisted, the Irish intelligence then occupied a sixth part—about one column. The printer then was John Roe.

"Pue's Occurrences" became the property of John Hillary, printer, of 54, Castle Street, Dublin, in 1776. "In 1703-Pue's residence and printing establishment were in Skinner's Row, in an old lumber house, called Carberry House, in which mansion, on the drawing-room floor, also was located the place of public resort, called Dick's Coffee House, which mansion was demolished about 1780, and on the site of it now stands the houses in Christ Church Place, Nos. 6, 7, and 8, as we are informed by Gilbert.

"Richard Pue died in 1758, and was succeeded by his nephew, James Pue, who died in 1762, and was succeeded by Sarah Pue, who commenced her proprietorship with the publication of the fifty-ninth volume, with No. 101, and the following year she was succeeded by John Roe and David Giddal, from whom it was purchased in 1776 by John Hillary, bookseller, of Castle Street, and finally 'died out' about 1792." *

* Gilbert's "History of Dublin," vol. I., p. 175.

A volume of "Pue's Occurrences" is in my possession for 1760, beginning January 1st, and ending December 31st, of that year; that volume is the fifty-seventh, and being an annual one, it may be presumed the previous volumes were each of twelve months' papers also, I conclude that this journal made its first appearance at the date above-mentioned — the end of December, 1703.

This weekly paper, the early numbers of which were of small 4to. size, was, in March, 1735, enlarged to twelve inches long, by eight wide. Of the four pages of this paper, at the commencement, two pages were filled with foreign intelligence, and two with advertisements.

In No. 24, Vol. XXVIII., March 3rd to 27th, 1731, the name of the original publisher, Richard Pue, disappears, and that of John Roe is found for the first time inserted.

"Pue's Occurrences," in January, 1788, appeared as "John Hillary's 'Pue's Occurrences.'" *Pro Rege sæpe, Pro Patria semper*. It was published twice weekly, price two-pence.

In this paper there is almost a total dearth of Irish political intelligence, and of all politics, except those which are extracted from the "London Gazette." Few original articles of comment on public affairs, or criticisms of any literary performances, are to be found in this journal.

In May, 1763, the title of the Journal was changed to "John Roe's 'Pue's Occurrences.'"

In No. 105, for Christmas-day, 1760, "James Pue wishes his subscribers health, wealth, a merry Christmas, and happy New-year, and does earnestly request such of them as are indebted for this paper will pay the same."

Of the four pages of the last number in the volume from December 23rd to 27th, 1760, of twelve columns, one column and a half is devoted to Irish intelligence, a column to foreign intelligence, and nine and a half columns to advertisements.

The "Irish Intelligence" winds up with the following notice, illustrative of the civilizing influence of our jurisprudence a century ago:—

"Tuesday, December 23rd, 1760: Yesterday, Darcus Kelly, otherwise Stuart (mistress of one of the infamous brothels lately kept in Copper-Alley), was tried, and found guilty, at the commission of Oyer and Terminer, for the murder of John Dowling, shoemaker, in Copper-Alley, on the 17th of March last, and received a sentence to be burnt, near St. Stephen's Green, on Wednesday, the 9th day of January next; but having pleaded her belly, a jury of matrons were summoned, and found her not pregnant. And this day the commission ended, at which John Gallagher was tried, and found guilty of uttering a bad guinea, knowing it to be a counterfeit, for which he is to be imprisoned two months, and to give security for his good behaviour for three years."

In Vol. LVII., in my possession, of "Pue's Occurrences," in the No. for June 21st, 1760, we find a notice that determines a controversy about the place of birth of

the Duke of Wellington, some asserting that he was born in Lord Mornington's house, in Grafton Street (in after years the house of the Royal Irish Academy); others, and with more reason, that he was born in Lord Mornington's house in Leinster Street, that is now the premises of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. In "Pue's Occurrences," of the date above mentioned, we find the following notice: "June the 20th, (1760). In Grafton Street, the lady of the Right Honourable Lord Mornington was safely delivered of a son and heir, to the great joy of that noble family." That son and heir was the late Marquis Wellesley. The notice of his birth has been mistaken for that of his brother.

In "Pue's Occurrences" for the 4th October, 1760, we find the following notice of a sporting celebrity, of Wexford: "September 25th. Last week at Ballynastra Co. Wexford, Lawrence Esdmonde, Esq., aged 90 years, the best sportsman in this kingdom. He rid fair to the last, and hunted buck this season. 'Tis said his death was occasioned by a fall from his horse, returning in the night from a club, after leaving his company unable to follow him. He was of a most creditable and ancient family, and is regretted by all ranks of people."

In "Pue's Occurrences" of November 5th, 1760, we find the official programme of the ceremonial for the interment of the late sovereign, King George II., on the 11th of November, 1760.

In "Pue's Occurrences," of February 22nd, 1770, we find in the list of sheriffs for the ensuing year, the

name of Joseph Sirr, father to Major Henry Charles Sirr, wine merchant, of Frances Street. A Mr. William Sirr, the grandfather of the last named Henry Charles Sirr, was the person who arrested Father Nicholas Sheehy, immediately after his trial and acquittal on a charge of murder (which had never been committed by any person). This William Sirr was a clerk in Sir John Fielding's office, in Dorset Street, in 1759. This Sirr transmitted the innocent priest to Clonmell, where he was condemned, hanged, and quartered, to the eternal obloquy of all those who were engaged in that judicial murder, and their unfortunate descendants. Major H. C. Sirr's grandfather died in Rathfarnham, at a very advanced age.

Shortly after Joseph Sirr was appointed high sheriff of the city of Dublin, in February, 1770, we find one of the patriots, in an article addressed to the committee for conducting the "Free Press," of "The Freeman's Journal," denouncing the high sheriff, Sirr, for allowing a female convict to be flogged through the streets of Dublin, in accordance with a sentence passed on her for a theft of some articles of woollen manufacture—"he, the high sheriff, being so unmindful of the manufacturing interests of Ireland, as to suffer that female culprit to be flogged with her stays and gown on, instead of having her flogged on the naked back, as it was intended by the law she should have been." Verily our Irish patriots of a little less than a century ago, were exceedingly barbarous in their notions on some subjects.

"The Dublin Mercury."

Printed by S. Powell, first, in High Street, and, subsequently, in Fishamble Street, Dublin. Small folio size; one leaf printed on both sides. 1704—1706.

This weekly publication, presumed to be a newspaper, consists chiefly of matter taken from the "London Gazette," uncontaminated with Irish intelligence of any importance.

The earliest number of "The Dublin Mercury" in the collection of rare tracts in Trinity College, in 5 vols., folio. (Librarian's Room, press No. 1), is No. 22, December 22nd, 1704, to January 1st, 1705. In this number there is one advertisement.

In another number, 25, the printer's name is given, and a new address—Powell, Fishamble Street, Dublin.

The latest number in the volume is No. 85, August 6th to 10th, 1706.

This journal, "The Dublin Mercury," must not be confounded with Hoey's "Dublin Mercury" that commenced in 1768, or Peter Hoey's "Dublin Journal" of 1769.

"The Dublin Gazette."

Printed by Edward Sandys, in Crane Lane, Dublin, and published by authority. 1705—1764."

An official paper, printed and published by authority, existed in Dublin in 1689, fifteen years before the journal printed by Sandys, beyond all doubt, though not a single copy of it exists in Ireland in any public or private library; nor is it to be found in the library of Dublin

Castle, as far as I have been able to learn, and I have taken a great deal of trouble in searching all those collections in which such a journal might be expected to be found.

Vol. I. of "Irish Pamphlets," five vols, folio, in manuscript-room of Library, of Trinity College, Dublin, contains a proclamation, dated Dublin Castle, October 25th, 1705, notifying to the public that, in order "to prevent imposition by the publication of any false news, the Lords Justices directed the paper, entitled 'The Dublin Gazette,' to be published by their authority, and had appointed their secretary, Edwin Sandys, to peruse the same constantly, before it be printed; and that Edwin Sandys, at the Custom House Printing-office, in Crane Lane, should be the printer and publisher thereof."

A Mr. William Lingen had been appointed to inspect and supervise the publication of "The Dublin Gazette;" and it appears that he sanctioned the printing of it first for Edwin Sandys, by Messrs. Gowan. The size of the paper was then folio, but there was no augmentation of Irish intelligence.

In the number for September 28th, 1742, at the top of the paper there is a notice, signed W. Lingen, informing the public that he had revoked the sanction given by the authority of Government to Messrs Gowan, to print and publish "The Dublin Gazette," and had appointed Mr. Thomas Bacon, printer, of Essex Street, sole printer and publisher of "The Dublin Gazette.

Contemporary Williamite evidence, as to a Jacobite Dublin Gazette existing in Dublin during the time James II. occupied the capital, has been referred to in this work, as being noticed in the "*Macariæ Excidium*," by the translator and annotator of that work, J. C. O'Callaghan, Esq. But the first appearance of a regularly authorised official gazette, existing in Dublin at the early part of the last century (and I may still add subsisting there), is to be dated from the proclamation issued by the Lords Justices from Dublin Castle, above-referred to. This proclamation was superseded by a later one, appointing another printer of the "Dublin Gazette." Sandys had been accused of publishing a seditious libel, and had been taken into custody. The libel had been published in the "Flying Post, or Postman."

Of the "Dublin Gazette," published by authority, and printed by Edward Sandys, the earliest number in Vol. III. of the Trinity College, Dublin, Collection is No. 204, for the 27th March, 1707.

The first number of the "Dublin Gazette" existing in the collection of the Thorp Papers, in the Royal Dublin Society, is of the date of January 27th to January 31st 1708. There are seventy-eight numbers in this volume, and the last of them is No. 500, and is dated from November 28th, to December 2nd, 1710.

The "Dublin Gazette" was published weekly, "by

authority." With several of the Gazettes there is a broadsheet, printed on one side only, headed, "Postscript to the "Dublin Gazette."

The first "London Gazette," published by authority, had been in existence in England thirty-nine years previously to the origin of the "Dublin Gazette," published by authority, in 1705.

The "Oxford Gazette," the first English official Government paper, was printed in Oxford, and published by authority, November 13th, 1665; and on the return of the Court from Oxford to the capital, the new official Government paper made its first appearance in London, February 15th, 1666, and was called the "London Gazette."

"The earliest Gazette of Scotland," according to the editor of the "Notes and Queries" (Vol. VIII., p. 57), "appears to have been the 'Edinburgh Gazette, or Scotch Postman,' printed by Robert Brown, on Tuesdays and Thursdays. The first number was published in March, 1715. This was followed by the 'Evening Courant,' published thrice weekly. The first number appeared December 16th, 1718, and has existed to the present time. There was, however, another and earlier Scotch paper, issued on May 8th, 1692, called the 'Scotch Mercury,' giving 'a true account of the daily proceedings and most remarkable public events in Scotland;' but this seems to have been printed in London, for R. Baldwin. The earliest Almanack printed

in Scotland was in 1677, by Forbes, of Aberdeen, under the title of 'A New Prognostication for North Britain,' and which was continued to 1700."

"The Post-Man.

"Printed and published by Sandys, in Crane Lane, Dublin. 1707."

A single number, dated June, 1707, is all that exists of this paper, in the third volume of the Collection of Early Tracts and Newspapers in Trinity College Library. The size is quarto, twelve inches in length, by seven in breadth. It contains only two extracts that are not from London newspapers. All the important intelligence contained in it is either English or foreign.

"The Diverting Post.

"Printed and published by A[aron] R[hames], at the back of Dick's Coffee House, Skinner's Row, Dublin. 1709."

This newspaper, a single number of which exists in the Trinity College Collection of Early Tracts and Newspapers, made its first appearance in September, 1709. The number of it in that Collection is No. 5, from September 24th to October 1st, 1709—quarto size, twelve inches in length, by seven in width. All the articles are in verse, chiefly burlesque, some amatory, a few satirical—none of any merit.

The bashful publisher and printer, Aaron Rhames, who was ashamed to affix more than his initials to his "Diverting" newspaper, was probably a converted

London Jew, of an eccentric turn of mind. The first English version of the Bible printed in Ireland was published by him in 1714.

“The Protestant Post Boy, containing all Public Transactions, Foreign and Domestic. 1712.”

The only number of this piously-named periodical that probably exists in any library, public or private, in Ireland, is to be found in the Collection of rare Early Tracts and Newspapers, in Trinity College Library, Dublin. The date of that number is from March 25th to March 27th, 1712 — the size, quarto, twelve inches long, by seven wide. This Post Boy, owes all its worth and value to its *Protestantism*, and all its *Protestantism* to the prefix of its title.

But everything was Protestant, and, of course, pious, in the English colony planted in Ireland at the appearance of this orthodox Post Boy.

There is no printer's name to this journal; but it probably was a reprint of a similar periodical printed in London, which circulated in Ireland.

“The Protestant Courant, imparting news Foreign and Domestic.

“Printed for Richard Baldwin, the Old Bailey, London. 1682.”

Of this Polemical Newspaper the second number only exists, in Vol. I. of the “Irish Pamphlet Collection,” in Trinity College, Dublin.

• “Whalley's News Letter.”

“Printed for, and published by John Whalley,

at Arundel Court, near Nicholas Street, Dublin, 1714."

"Whalley's News Letter," containing a full and particular account of foreign and domestic news, made its appearance in 1714. This strange periodical was printed on one leaf, foolscap size; occasional supplements were published, one of which will be found, in its entirety, in this notice. The proprietor, editor, and publisher of this newspaper, a *quondam* shoemaker, an astrologer, a quack doctor, an almanack maker, a no Popery firebrand, a champion of Protestant principles, a celebrated empiric, was called "Dr. Whalley;" and in 1703 was living in Patrick Street, Dublin.

Whalley's intimate acquaintance with the stars, enabled him so frequently to predict the downfall of the Pope, his court of cardinals, the desolation and destruction of the City on the Seven Hills, that his rhapsodies acquired popularity. He died before the accomplishment of his predictions, in 1729.

Of the notorious quack, prophet, cobbler, almanack maker, fanatic, and firebrand, Dr. John Whalley, Gilbert tells us he was born in 1653, and settled in Dublin in 1682, where he gained much reputation for necromancy. In 1688 he was placed in the pillory for some offence, and during the Jacobite regime, had to fly to England, whence he returned and caused people to be persecuted—one, named Daly, to be hanged, whose brother took vengeance on him in one of the bitterest

satirical poems in the Irish language, of twenty-one stanzas. On his return to Dublin, he located himself in Stephen's Green, West, where he resumed his practice on polemics, prophecies, medicine, and mathematics, and gave "advice from the stars," in the shape of almanacks. From Stephen's Green he removed to Nicholas Street. In 1709 he figured as a printer and publisher, in Arundel Court, Nicholas Gate.

A "Dublin Almanack" was printed and published on the Wood Quay, by John McComb and Andrew Cumsty, in 1694.

In 1699 there was a paper warfare carried on between the arch quack and impostor, Dr. Whalley and McComb and Mr. Cumsty.

Two documents have been placed in my hands very illustrative of the fact that the bitterness of polemical strife in Ireland was by no means less intense a century and a half ago than it is at the present hour; and that the little amenities of newspaper and other ephemeral literature, are rather more respected in our times than they were in those of "Dr. Whalley," or "Jemmy Carson."

The documents above referred to, are a memorial for the enactment of penal laws, of a very peculiar character, by "Dr. John Whalley," perhaps an ancestor of the present honourable member for Peterborough; and a full and true account of Dr. John Whalley's departure for, and arrival in a region and a pit that is said to be bottomless.

The former appeared in the shape of a supplement to "Whalley's News Letter," and is thus addressed:

"TO THE LORDS SPIRITUAL, TEMPORAL, AND COMMONS,
IN PARLIAMENT ASSEMBLED. THE HUMBLE AD-
DRESS OF JOHN WHALLEY.

"May it please your Honours.

"The abominations of Popery, and the mischiefs and dangerous consequences resulting therefrom to the Protestant interests, and the rest of all mankind in general, have from time to time (as often as opportunity permitted), so grievously affected this kingdom in particular, that whosoever shall be wanting to the utmost of his ability, to suppress it, may, (not without good reason), justly be suspected to be a favourer of idolatry, which God expressly forbids his people: and for which he sent the sword and pestilence to Israel, and often times hath overthrown and destroyed whole nations. And, therefore, far be it from me, so much as to think, much less to conclude, that any who pretends to the Protestant religion, can be for countenancing thereof. But, for as-much as nothing is more notorious than the insinuations, craftily used to perswade us that Popery is not idolatry; and that 'tis more than probable that even some, of otherwise most profound judgments, may remain doubtful of the matter, for the better satisfaction of mankind in general, I humbly crave leave hereby to lay before your wisdoms;

“First: A Protestation, November 26th, 1626, made and signed by the learned, pious, Primate Usher, and eleven other Bishops of this kingdom, against some others by the Government then made, for a tolleration to be given to the Papists, for a more free exercise of their religion, than for some time before they had enjoyed, on condition of their contributing to the maintaining of 500 horse and 5,000 foot, and which was publicly published April 23rd, 1627, before the Lord Deputy and Council of Ireland, in a sermon upon that occasion, preach’t by Dr. George Downham, then Bishop of Derry, and is as follows:—

“‘The Religion of the Papists is superstitious and idolatrous; their Faith and Doctrine erroneous and heretical; their Church, in respect of both, apostatical. To give them, therefore, a tolleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects.

“‘For, 1. It is to make ourselves accessory, not only to their superstitions, idolatries, heresies, and, in a word, to all the abominations of Popery, but also (which is a consequence of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish with the deluge of Catholic Apostasie.

“‘2. To grant them tolleration, in respect of money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it, the souls of the people, whom Christ our Saviour had redeemed with His most

precious blood. And as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence. The consideration whereof we commend to the wise and judicious, Beseeching the zealous God of Truth to make them who are in authority zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion, zealous, resolute, and courageous against all Popery, superstition, and idolatry. Amen.

(Signed)

" " JA. ARMACHANUS,	AND. AÇKLADEN.
" " MAL. CASCHELLENS.	THO. KILMORE ET ARDAGH,
" " ANTH. MEDENSIS,	THEO. DROMORE,
" " THO. KILDAREN ET	MICHAEL WATERFORD ET
LAGHLINA,	LYSMORE,
" " ROB. DUNENSIS.	FRANC. LYMERICK.
" " RICHARD CORKE,	GEORG. DERENS.'
CLOYNE ET ROSS.	

"Secondly. I humbly crave leave to lay these facts before your wisdoms, that, notwithstanding the laws already in force against the Papists, several regulars of the Popish Clergy conceal themselves in several parts of the kingdom, where they before were strangers, excepting to some particular friends, under the disguise of physitians, and other professions; and others, who by reason of their age, and being better known, cannot so conveniently conceal themselves, rather than leave the kingdom, chuse to abide imprisonment, where by interest

of their goalers, they easily obtain leave to teach as schoolmasters, and have their daily masses, and thereby all desired opportunity of ordaining others, and otherwise propagating and perpetuating their dangerous idolatry. And others of their secular priests, pretending to go beyond sea for recovery of health, have, in all reasonable possibility, gone only to receive fresh orders and authority at their return to ordain others, so that, till all of them be intirely banish't, it is in vain to expect an end of their idolatry in this nation.

“Thirdly. That by the many lately convicted thereof, 'tis evident that while any (either of their regular or secular) clergy continue among us, they will ever be tempering with, and seducing our sick and weaker sort of people. And while Popish physitians attend our sick, they cannot want opportunity to advise the priest when most convenient to prey upon us.

“Fourthly. And notwithstanding the strictness of the statute (7 Carl. II., sec. 1., cap. 4), yet certain it is, that several Papists do, either for themselves, or as ushers (to some sorry, ignorant, interested fellows, as well as at gentlemen's Houses in several parts of the kingdom) still teach school publickly, and where they are prohibited (under pretence of keeping and teaching necessary duties) as boarders, teach philosophy and their idolatrous divinity, and qualify them for their concealed and imprison'd clergy's ordination. And where some of them have been prosecuted, they always found means either to obstruct it, or if found guilty, to get their

imprisonments and fines abated, so as that it rarely gave any hindrance to their returning again to their business.

“Fifthly. That the great numbers of Popish books frequently printed in Dublin, and from foreign parts imported into several parts of the kingdom, is another considerable step to the growth of Popery; and so is the teaching in our Schools of ‘Valentine and Orson,’ ‘The 7 Wise Masters,’ ‘The 7 Champions of Christendom,’ and other like fabulous stories, of which vast numbers are dayly printed for and sold by James Malone, an Irish Popish bookseller, in High Street, Dublin, and other Papists and Dissenters, which tend greatly to obstruct the knowledge of the youth of the nation, in the principles of the Protestant religion, by being instructed in the Church Catechism, Psalter, Old and New Testament, and other like books, which, for that purpose, might, by the wisdom of you and our clergy be appointed.

“All which and abundance more to the purpose, without all doubt, hath not wanted mature and all due consideration by so wise an assembly: But may it please your honours, the burn’d child dreads the fire; and I suffered so much by the late idolatrous, cut-throat government in this kingdom, that there is nothing I dread so much as falling again into their unmerciful clutches; and, therefore, hope you’ll pardon my casting my mite into so bountiful a treasury, and laying before you what, with all humility, I conclude may, in future, prove a more perfect and healing remedy: In order to which be pleased to consider:

"1. That by the aforesaid Protestation, it is evident, that it always hath been the opinion of our holy Church that Popery is idolatry, and the allowing or tollerating of it among us a grievous sin and of dangerous consequence.

"2. That the most sure step effectually to banish it, is to banish all its clergy, whether regular or secular, without distinction; and neither to hang or imprison, but to order the Swedish law to be executed upon all such as, contrary to the limmitation you shall see fit to allow them, shall, on any pretence whatever, abide among or return to us.

"3. That all such as shall either give or receive any Popish ordination in this kingdom, and all that, having been ordained in any foreign country, shall hereafter come to exercise their function here, be immediately, upon conviction, in open market, with proclamation made, g——t, and for ever banished. And if any of their secular clergy shall be thought fit to be allowed particular parishes, let 'em be obliged to enroll their names and places of abode, and wear a badge, by which they may be distinguished from others, and not go any where out of their parish without license.

"4. That if any priest, either of the clergy or laity, shall hereafter tamper with or offer anything tending to the seducing any Protestant, sick or well, young or old to their religion, or that shall publicly speak, or by writing, or otherwise, offer or publish anything in favour of Popery, to the dishonour of the Protestant religion or interest of this kingdome (as some have lately done in

opposition to some things published by Dr. Clayton and others), let them, if of the clergy, be g——t and banished, and if of the laity, fined and imprisoned: and if printed, both printer and publisher punished: and no Popish printer nor Popish bookseller be allowed in Ireland.

“ 5. That every Papist that in time to come shall teach school or practise as a physitian, chirurgeon, or solicitor in this kingdom, be, for the first offence, fined, the second fined and imprisoned, and the third banished.

“ 6. That the aforesaid ‘Histories of Valentine and Orson,’ ‘The 7 Wise Masters,’ ‘The 7 Champions of Christendom,’ and all other prophane and like ridiculous stories and Popish books whatsoever (excepting such as are to be found in gentlemen’s studies) be burned, and all be punish’d that for time to come shall import, print, or vend in the kingdom any such.

“ 7. That all schoolmasters be obliged, upon pain of perpetual silence, fine, and imprisonment, not to teach, either in public or private, any books of English, but the Church Catechism, Psalter, Old or New Testament, Ussher’s ‘Principles of Christian Religion,’ or such others as your honours shall see fit to appoint, for discouraging of Popish idolatry, and the advancement of true religion.

“ 8. That for the better observing and executing such laws as your wisdoms shall see fit to enact, concerning such schools and books, it is humbly submitted to your honours, whether it would not be expedient that

some one person shall be appointed, for the sole printing and vending such books as you may so appoint, who shall be accountable for the well and true printing thereof, and that therefore shall be obliged to take care to suppress the printing, vending, or teaching, any that shall be prohibited; and that hath acquaintance, in all parts of the nation, from whom he may constantly receive information concerning the premises, and good will, courage, and resolution for the common cause, as well as his own interest, to prosecute the offenders." *

Here ends the memorial of the polemical ancestor of Messrs. Whalley, Newdegate, Lefroy, &c.

It will hardly be credited that the furibond memorial of this half-crazed, half-scheming fanatic, and quack, to the Irish House of Peers, was not only presented, but taken into consideration, and several of the recommended measures for the advancement of true religion, as it was understood by Dr. John Whalley—one especially, with respect to modes of dealing with Popish priests, which will be found in the fourth recommendation in Whalley's memorial, were subsequently actually embodied in the draft of a bill, which bill, however, never passed into law.

"Dr. Whalley's" theological views in general have found an exponent and a representative in a gentleman of the same name, but of a softer nature; one of the Latter Day Saints of our own times.

* The above is an exact copy of the original document in the possession of Dr Willis, of Lower Ormond Quay, literally made by me.—R. R. M.

A supposed descendant of another Whalley (he of the Whitehall scaffold business celebrity), not less celebrated than the Doctor of that name, the jack of all trades, arts, and sciences of the beginning of the last century, has been made the subject of some verses of a recent date, somewhat more complimentary than those in relation to Dr. John Whalley's arrival and "entertainment" in another place, nameless to ears polite:

THE MEMBER FOR PETERBOROUGH VINDICATED.

The two kings of Brentford no longer smell at the same rose. Newdegate and Whalley are severed. They who lived so long in charming concord, and took so often "most sweet counsel" together, concerning nunneries, subterranean cellars, dungeons, convents, dark designs, and Jesuits, are at war. He of North Warwickshire, taunts his brother, Saint and Senator of Peterborough, with zeal without discretion, or vehemence that partakes of the nature of a divine fury in the holy cause of the Protestant establishment, because he traces up the origin of Fenianism to the fountain head of all evil—Rome and Romanism.

Ah Newdegate, how could you rally,
And rail at such a saint as Whalley?
You never more can make a sally
Against the Pope, along with Whalley;
Nor meet, unless 'tis in the valley
Of dread Jehosaphat, with Whalley!
The merits and the gifts, how shall I
Enumerate of righteous Whalley?
In Parliament, no shilly-shalley
Speech was ever made by Whalley,
Still rating Priests and Cardinale
And other Fenians, we find Whalley,

The special mission, his—to bally—
 Rag the Pope, is thought by Whalley.
 That horrid night-mare—Rome—finally
 Will erase the mind, some fear, of Whalley.
 Not I; that part is less *vital*
 Than any one in sooth of Whalley.
 I must confess—*non dicens male*,
 That wisdom owns no son named Whalley.
 No man's a hero to his valet;
 Nor to his friends, perhaps, is Whalley.
 And they, no *carmen triumphale*,
 May have to sing for wits of Whalley.
 No Locke, no Bacon, Scott, Macaulay,
 No scribe, nor sage, forsooth, is Whalley.
 His logic, with his lore may tally,
 Yet leave not much to boast of Whalley.
 I praise no person for his folly,
 But laud, of course, all saints like Whalley:
 No man was e'er less prone to dally
 With her in scarlet robed, than Whalley.
 If one could only freight a galley
 With priests, and swamp it then for Whalley;
 The blame, of course, would fall on aqually
 Winds, and not the will of Whalley.
 It might be wrong. I do not palli-
 At the fine defects of Whalley.
 I sing the Saint who vaunts old alli-
 Ance with that Cromwellian Whalley,
 Who did "The Deed at Whitehall,"* all ye
 Would do the same, sing psalms with Whalley.

PHILO WHALLEY.

The facetious Jemmy Carson made a tributary offer-
 ing in rhyme, to the merits and the memory of the re-
 nowned fanatic, almanack maker, cobbler, and memorial-
 ist of "their wisdoms," the Lords Justices, Dr. John
 Whalley. This poetical effusion is entitled "A full
 account of Dr. John Whalley's forced Confession and
 Entertainment in H—ll.

The poetry of the production is not of a high order;
 the profanity of the tone and spirit of it is so much
 more suited to the taste of the people of the last century
 than to that of the present day, that I have been in-

* The Hon. Member for Peterborough is said to count amongst his ancestors the Whalley who is stated to have been the executioner of Charles I.

duced to withhold from publication all except the epitaph for Dr. Whalley's grave, which ends the poem.

EPITAPH.

Under this stone doth lie secure,
A man in heart, that of no wife, was wooer,
The D——s pride, and the world's wonder,
For perjury and vice doth here lye under.
A cobbler, doctor, and star gazer, too,
Methinks he gave the D——l enough to do.
I beg the favour of you, pond'rous stone,
To keep secure this wretched dolt and drone."

Whalley's last almanack was published in 1724. His mantle descended on a Munster astrologer and almanack maker, Mr. John Coats.

One of the most rare and remarkable almanacks printed in Ireland that I have seen, and which is now in the possession of Mr. Greer, of Dublin, is a vol. in 12mo., entitled :

"Vox Stellarum, or An Almanack for 1724; done at Cork, by John Coats, student in astrology.

"Printed by Edward Waters, Essex Street, Dublin, 1724."

This almanack bears much resemblance in matter, astrological lore, and arrangements of subjects, to a well known English production of the same description, entitled,

"A Concordance of Yeares, in a new, easie, and exact computation of time, according to the English account: also the use of the English and Roman Kalender, &c., newly composed and digested by Arthur Hopton, gentleman.

"Printed by Nicholas Okes, for J. Adams, London, 1615."

A very active printer and publisher of pamphlets and newspapers of the early part of the eighteenth century, was Dean Swift's prosecuted and persecuted printer, Edward Waters. The following papers were published by him:—

"The Dublin Castle.

"Published by authority. Printed by Edward Waters, in School House Lane, Dublin, 1708.

This periodical was printed on one side of a leaf, size, sixteen inches by ten. The first and only number, in Vol. III. of the T. C. Dublin Collection of Tracts is entitled "The Dublin Castle," published by Waters, has no number, but it is for July 12th 1708.

A new publication, of a date only one day later (the first number, 13th July, 1708), printed by Waters, exists in Vol. III., entitled

"Edward Waters' Dublin Intelligence, containing a full and impartial account of the foreign and domestic news.

"Printed by Edward Waters, School House Lane, Dublin, 1708."

The latest number in Vol. III. of the Trinity College Collection is No. 16, for July 17th, 1708. Another paper of the same printer is called:

"Edward Waters' Dublin Journal.

"Printed by Edward Waters, Blind Quay Bridge, Dublin, 1729."

This paper, published weekly, size 4to., one leaf, printed on both sides, sixteen inches by twelve inches. The sixth number, last in the vol., is for July, 1729.

"The Flying Post," containing foreign and domestic news.

"Printed by E (dward) W (aters), Blind Quay, Dublin, 1729."

The initials are evidently those of Swift's printer, Edward Waters. A few numbers of this paper exist in Vol. IV., of the T. C. Dublin Collection.

In 1720 Edward Waters (Dean Swift's printer), was residing in Essex Street, in 1720—1721. In the former year he printed there "A Proposal for the Universal Encouragement of the Trade and Manufactures of the Poor Weavers, and other trades carried on in the same," by Sir William Fownes, Knight: one leaf, 4to. size, printed on both sides.

The newspaper title, "The Dublin Intelligence," must have had an extraordinary attraction for the citizens of Dublin. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century there were no less than three "Dublin Intelligences" published by different printers.

In Vol. IV. of the T. C. Dublin Collection is to be found several numbers of a rival newspaper of Dickson's Journal, and with the same title.

"The Dublin Intelligence, containing a full and impartial account of all foreign and domestic news.

"Printed by James Carson, at Coghill Court, Dame Street, Dublin, 1724.

This journal made its first appearance 22nd August, 1724. It was the same size and form as Dickson's paper of the same title. It was printed on both sides of a single leaf, 4to. size, twelve inches by ten inches. The printer and publisher was the facetious Jemmy Carson, a humourist of no little celebrity in his day.

"The Dublin Weekly Journal.

"Printed by James Carson, in Coghill Court, Dame Street, Dublin. 1725—1734."

This weekly journal, published by a humourist of some celebrity, a typographer of some repute moreover, and one of the few newspaper printers and conductors who ventured on treating an Irish public with original matter, and what was more remarkable, matter occasionally having reference to Irish interests, rights, and wrongs. It was printed on two leaves, long 4to. size, in double columns, and sold for three half-pence. One peculiar feature of this paper was the illustration of advertisements with well-executed wood-prints, of quaint figures, indicative of the trade or pursuit of the several advertisers.

I am indebted to Mr. Powell, of Parliament Street, for a volume of the "Dublin Weekly Journal," with one exception, the only one, as far as I know, that is to be met with in any collection of newspapers in Dublin, and that exists, in all probability, in Ireland. The earliest number in that volume is No. 161, for April 27th, 1728, and the latest No. 19, May 12th, 1733.

In the number for April 27th, 1728, the public are informed that, "the man who carries on any useful

employment among ourselves is not without his share of praise. In this respect, the writer looks upon himself as no unprofitable member of the commonwealth, as a writer and a journalist. He employs a great number of hands, and it is a pleasure to him to consider that, while he is doing his own business, and endeavouring to divert his countrymen, he is putting bread into the mouths of a great many helpless, indigent people."

Honest Jemmy Carson reminds his dear public that his establishment is very expensive, and that it is maintained for their diversion and instruction. "To get news for them and rumours of news, he has to keep secretaries, spies, and agents, and even informers, to get the best intelligence for them. So that no man in all Hibernia knows more of all the sayings and doings in every place of public resort, especially at the fashionable spa of Templeogue, where all the ladies of fashion and the gentlemen of the *beau monde* do congregate. He has always more reputations in his power than pounds in his purse, and the reason of that phenomenon is, that he does not traffic in *faux pas* and reputations. He prefers having no money to having hush money."

In the "Dublin Weekly Journal," for April 24th, 1731, we find an advertisement headed,

"TEMPLE—OGE SPAW WATER.

"Patrick Daniel, at the 'Domville Arms' and 'Three Tons,' in Temple Oge, holds the Well this season, and hopes to give general satisfaction to all persons who

make use of the said waters. At the said place there is good accommodation for ladies and gentlemen.

"Note also the dancing-room is made much larger and more commodious than last year, it being handsomely finished. A band of city musick will attend as many days in the week as the company and the masters of the ceremonies will direct."

"To begin on Monday, the 3rd day of May, 1731."

"The Temple oge spaw water" perhaps still exists, but the very site of the spring is now ignored. In one hundred and thirty-five years many things that were in great vogue, and had great attractions for our Irish aristocracy, have died out of the people's mind, as well as the aristocracy itself.

Nothing good, it is supposed, can come out of this Nazareth of ours, not even health-restoring waters.

This weekly newspaper, originally edited and chiefly written by Mr. James Arbuckle (twelve inches long by eight broad), price three half-pence, was one of those early nondescript journals, a combination of the serial essay and news-letter periodical.

The first number was published April 3rd, 1725. Each number consists of four pages of matter, in eight columns. Each number, with very few exceptions, in the first volume, commenced with an essay, by Arbuckle, generally on some moral subject. The first number is here described as a fair specimen of the whole.

The first article is an essay on the Connection of Public and Private Morals, extending to three columns,

by the editor, who wrote under the signature of "Hibernicus."

The volume of the "Dublin Weekly Journal" in my possession, commences with the first number, for April 3rd, 1725, and ends with No. 105, for April 1st, 1727. My friend, Mr. Charles Halliday, the eminent collector of rare and valuable publications relating to Ireland, informed me he had a file of this journal from 1727 to 1735.

The paper Mr. Halliday referred to may not be the same "Dublin Weekly Journal" that was edited by Arbuckle, for in the last number, No. 104, for March 27th, 1725, Arbuckle, in the leading article, announces his intention of relinquishing the task he had imposed on himself, the publication of the "Dublin Weekly Journal" for the past two years. He states, moreover, his intention of reprinting, in a separate form, the leading articles which had appeared in the "Dublin Weekly Journal" while he was connected with it.

The second article, on foreign affairs, occupies two columns and a half. The third article, consisting of London news, occupies twenty lines. The fourth article is devoted to Irish intelligence, and occupies fifty lines. The arrivals of vessels from England takes up twenty-six lines of the fifty—the Assize of Bread, the remaining twenty-four lines. The rest of the paper, a column and a half, is filled with advertisements.

This synopsis will give the reader a tolerably good idea of the nature and character of our early Irish

newspapers, and not only of those of the early part of the eighteenth century, but for a period of at least a quarter of a century posterior to the date of it.

Of political or commercial intelligence relating to Ireland there is absolutely none to be found in the columns of the "Dublin Weekly Journal." Dreary disquisitions on morals, in connexion with elementary political principles and theories of government, furnish the staple commodity of the leading articles of the editor, under the signature of "Hibernicus." Here and there we find a few stray paragraphs, more or less curious, as illustrative of the manners and customs, crimes, and modes of dealing with them, of a time remote from ours—one hundred and thirty-eight years. For instance:

"We hear from Cork that, at the assizes held there by the Lord Chief Justice Windham, and Prime Sergeant Bernard, fourteen men received sentence of death. Amongst them was one Parker, a gentleman, for the murder of his wife, to be hung in chains." No. 4, April 17th, 1725.

"The fourteen persons, formerly mentioned to have received sentence of death at Cork, were accordingly executed the 17th of last month. Several *gallowses* were erected in the streets where the crimes were committed, and there suffered. There was one Blackburne among them, formerly a scull in the college." No. 5, May 1st, 1725.

"On Monday last one Mr. Chambers was apprehended and committed to Newgate, for robbing one Mr. Dowdal

and some others last week; and on Tuesday morning Cornet Poe was apprehended for the same robbery, and put in irons." No. 27, December 2nd, 1725.

"Wednesday last, Cornet Poe, formerly mentioned for robbing the furzemongers, near Tallow Hill, was executed at Kilmainham. Great interest was made to save his life, but to no effect. There was also another executed with him for stealing cows." No. 30, December 23rd, 1725.

"On Saturday last was published a Proclamation, by order of the Lord Lieutenant, offering a reward of one hundred pounds, for the discovery of the author of a false, scandalous, and malicious libel, called, 'Wisdom's Defeat.'" No. 33, November 13th, 1725.

"A Proclamation was published the 24th of December last, offering a reward of two hundred pounds for apprehending William Walsh, a principal offender in the abduction of Susannah Johnston, daughter of Robert Johnston, of Gerah, Co. of Limerick; and one hundred pounds for apprehending — Murphy, a Popish priest, who married Susannah Johnston to William Walsh; and the same sum for apprehending Robert Morgan, Catherine Webb, Catherine Ward, accessories in said felonious outrage." No. 41, January 8th, 1726.

"Last Saturday one Nowland was tried, for enlisting men for the service of the Pretender, and evidence was very clear against him that he had shipped off one hundred men for that service, and had one hundred more ready the night he was taken. He was found

guilty, and is to be hanged, drawn, and quartered." No. 66, July 2nd, 1726.

"Yesterday, the Right Hon. Lord Viscount Charlemont departed this life, at his house in College Green, and is succeeded in title and estate by his son, the Hon. — Caulfield, Member of Parliament for the borough of Charlemont. The deceased lord was much lamented, on account of his extraordinary piety, charity, and other eminent qualities, becoming a nobleman and a Christian." No. 69, July 23rd, 1726.

"On Sunday, the 13th, we learn from Clonmel, Samuel Moore, Esq. and John Slatterie, Mem. of Par. for Blessington, fought with sword and pistol. The latter was killed on the spot." No. 86, November 19th, 1726.

A contributor of some of the best papers in the "Dublin Weekly Journal" under the signature of "Publicola," who advocated the unpopular doctrine of the obligation imposed on rational human beings of thinking for themselves, and exercising the duties, as well as claiming the prerogative, of exalted rank, in a communication to the editor, in No. 92, says:

"Numerous are the complaints and outcries that have been raised against the subject matter of my last two letters. If I had either preached up some damnable heresy, or preached down the fashionable custom of wearing hooped petticoats, my principles could not have been reckoned more dangerous and pernicious." December 31st, 1726.

The humourous printer of the "Dublin Weekly Journal," published a singular medley of ridiculous articles, in prose and verse, at the close of his career, entitled :

"Jemmy Carson's Collections; being a Revival of his own Labours and Lucubrations for fifty years past," &c.

Gilbert states that this production reached a second edition.

The fourteenth edition, printed in Dublin, but without the printer's name, in 1787, is in my possession.

Carson's particular vein of humour manifested itself in ludicrous puritanical prose compositions, entitled, "Presbyterian Sermons," in which the rant that was in vogue in Presbyterian conventicles was imitated and ridiculed rather too profanely.

"James Carson's Dublin Post Boy, or a Supplement to the 'Dublin Weekly Journal.'"

"Printed by James Carson, Coghills Court, Dame Street, Dublin. 1729."

Of the above-named occasional weekly periodical, the first number, for February 19th, 1729, is to be found in the fifth volume of Irish Tracts, same form and size as the "Dublin Weekly Journal."

"The Country Gentleman.

"Printed by George Faulkner, in Pembroke Court, Castle Street, printer, Dublin. 1726."

The first number, for March 30th, 1726, is the only one existing in the Trinity College, Dublin, Collection. The size is 4to., sixteen inches by twelve, printed on one leaf, on both sides, in double columns.

The motto and its explanation—"Omne tulit punctum qui miscuit utile dulci"—professes to tell the character of the periodical—to revive the wit and humour supposed to be entombed with the authors of the "Spectator."

In the same volume there is a paper entitled, "Memorial of the Marquis of Pozzo Bueno, addressed to the principal Secretary of State, the Duke of Newcastle, dated December 21st, 1726. Printed by George Faulkner, Christchurch Yard, Dublin."

At the end of the paper there is an advertisement of the printer and publisher of the "Country Gentleman," George Faulkner, dated January 27th, 1726-7, informing the public that important foreign intelligence will be published in the "Dublin Journal" of the day following (that is to say, of January 28th, 1726-7).

This paper appeared to have died out immediately after its birth, and if stupidity could have killed an Irish periodical of its time, its death might be attributed to that cause.

"Anbury's Weekly Journal."

No printer's name, no place, no date.

[Dublin. 1727.]

The only number I have seen of this paper is for March 22nd, 1727. It exists in the fourth volume of the Trinity College, Dublin, Collection.

This unsuccessful attempt to imitate the productions of the English Essayists in all probability did not long survive. It was printed on both sides of a single leaf, 4to. size.

"The White Hall Gazette, containing Foreign and Domestic News.

"Printed by R. Dickson and E. Needham, Dame Street, Dublin. 1726."

This journal, a reprint of an English one, with the addition of a few Irish advertisements, is on the same dead level of stupidity as its cotemporaries,

It was printed on both sides of a leaf, 4to., sixteen inches by twelve. A single copy, for March 22nd, 1726, only exists in the Trinity College Collection, previously referred to.

"The Dublin Postman.

"Printed and published by William Manning, bookseller, in High Street, Dublin. 1726."

The "Dublin Postman," being "the most Impartial Advices, Foreign and Domestic," ought to have lived long and circulated largely. The few numbers, however, that exist of it, and those only in the Collection of Early Tracts and Newspapers in Trinity College Library, and all published in the same year, lead to the supposition that its life was short and not successful.

As to the "Most Impartial Advices," of a domestic kind, of this "rag of a paper," the only bias obvious in them was of a *sensational* predilection—for robberies, murders, and shocking accidents.

"The Silver Court Gazette.

"Printed and published by Richard Dickson, Silver Court, Castle Street, Dublin. 1726."

This very rare weekly newspaper, small folio size, fourteen inches by seven, consists of a single leaf, printed

on both sides. It contains foreign news, occupying three columns, no Irish news at all, and three or four advertisements in each paper. The earliest number in this volume is No. 94, for January 1st, 1728. It must therefore, have commenced in the early part of 1726. There are only six numbers of this journal in the volume.

The only numbers I have seen of this paper exist in the Collection of Tracts already referred to, relating to Ireland, in Trinity College Library, Dublin, in Vols. IV. and V. of that Collection, labelled "Irish Pamphlets."

In 1728 the "Dublin Intelligence" was likewise printed in Silver Court, off Castle Street.

"The Dublin Gazette, or Weekly Courant, containing News, Foreign and Domestic.

"Printed by Thomas Hume, Essex Street, Dublin. 1727—1737."

The earliest number of this paper existing in the Trinity College Collection (Vol. V.), is for November 25th, 1727. The size 4to., sixteen inches by ten, printed on both sides of a single leaf.

I have been informed this paper was in existence in January, 1737.

"Dickson's News-Letter.

"Printed and published for Christopher Dickson, Dublin. 1727."

This journal, twelve inches in length by seven in breadth, is printed on both sides of one leaf, like all the newspapers of its time, utterly ignoring

Irish interests, Irish politics, Irish governmental affairs, and all that appertained to Irish national concerns.

The only number of this paper I have seen, exists in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, in the collection previously referred to (Vol. III.). This number is for September 27th, 1727.

“Walsh’s Dublin Post Poy, being the most Impartial Advice, Foreign and Domestic.

“Printed by Thomas Walsh, at Dick’s Coffee House, Skinner’s Row, Dublin. 1727—1734.”

In Vol. IV. of the “Irish Tracts,” &c., Collection of Early Irish Publications, there are some copies of this Journal.

This paper was printed on both sides of a single leaf of paper 4to. size. Like all of its class, it did not affect even to recognise the existence of Irish news of interest to an Irish public.

The first number in the “Irish Tracts Collection,” Vol. IV., is for March 29th, 1727. The last number, in Vol. V., is for June 22nd, 1734.

“Nicholas Hussey’s Weekly Post, or the Dublin Impartial Intelligence, containing the most freshest and material News, Foreign and Domestic.

“Printed by Nicholas Hussey, Blind Quay, Dublin. 1728.”

The earliest number in the Trinity College, Dublin, Collection, in Vol. IV., is No. 2, for February 28th, 1728, one leaf, printed on both sides, eighteen inches by ten inches.

“George Faulkner’s Dublin Post Boy.

“Printed by George Faulkner, Dublin, Essex Street, (opposite to the Bridge), Dublin. 1728—1732.”

This news journal was apparently started in opposition to Walsh’s “Post Boy.”

It was printed on the same size paper, was of the same form and distribution of matter.

The earliest number in the Collection of “Early Irish Tracts and Newspapers,” in Trinity College Library, is for May 22nd, 1728; the last, for July 31st, 1732.

I have seen elsewhere a number for February 17th, 1728, is printed by James Hoey and George Faulkner, same address as the former number. Faulkner’s name does not appear in conjunction with Hoey’s in the number for July, 31st, 1732. The name only of James Hoey, printer, appears —“Printer of ‘Hoey’s Dublin Journal.’”

“The Dublin Post Boy.

“Printed by James Hoey, at the Mercury, opposite the Tholsel, where Advertisements are taken in for the ‘Dublin Journal.’ Dublin. 1732.”

The Dublin printers of the eighteenth century had no *esprit de corps*; they pirated one another’s newspaper titles without shame or scruple, as they spoiled the Egyptians of their craft on the other side of the Channel; but in the latter plunderings they appropriated, not only newspapers and magazines, but books of great value and of many volumes.

The “Dublin Post Boy” was printed on both sides of a single leaf, of 4to, size, twelve inches by ten inches.

"The Dublin Journal, with Advices, Foreign and Domestic.

"Printed by Edward Waters, the Blind Quay, near Essex Bridge, Dublin. 1729."

The Dublin printers and publishers of newspapers certainly dealt with one another like literary thieves, without mercy or remorse. There can be no doubt but that Mr. Waters pirated the title of George Faulkner's Dublin Journal established in 1725.

Of this paper, printed on both sides of a single leaf of paper, sixteen inches by ten, the earliest number in the Collection is for June 14th, 1729.

"The Dublin Post Boy, being a Supplement to the 'Dublin Journal.

"Printed by James Carson, Coghill's Court, Dame Street, Dublin. 1729-30."

The first number of this journal was published February 19th, 1729; the latest number, for March 20th, 1729, exists in Vol. V. of the "Trinity College, Dublin, Collection."

It was printed on both sides of a leaf, 4to. size, twelve inches by ten.

"The Flying Post Man, or the Dublin Post Man, containing the freshest News, Foreign and Domestic.

"Printed by Nicholas Hussey, on the Blind Quay, Dublin. 1729."

This paper is printed on one leaf, on both sides, size, sixteen inches by ten.

This paper is on a par with all its cotemporaries of

the same class of periodicals. Some numbers of it exist in Vol. V. of the "Trinity College Collection of Irish Papers."

The earliest number in this volume is for April 1st, 1729; the latest for August of the same year.

For any purpose connected with Irish interests, except those of the proprietor, it might as well have been printed and published in Kamtschatka, as in Dublin.

"The Dublin Packet.

"Printed by James Hoey, Skinner's Row, Dublin. 1730."

This journal, filled with extracts from London newspapers, was printed on both sides of a single leaf, of 4to. size, twelve inches by ten.

Two or three numbers only exist in the "Trinity College, Dublin, Collection."

"Thomas Walsh's Dublin Weekly Impartial News-Letter.

"Printed by Thomas Walsh, at Dick's Coffee House in Skinner's Row, Dublin. 1728—1731."

There is some improvement in the character and conduct of the latest numbers of this journal, several of which exist in the "Trinity College, Dublin, Collection." The earliest is for January, 1728.

It was printed on both sides of a leaf, 4to. size, twelve inches by ten.

"Dalton's Dublin Impartial News-Letter.

"Printed by Samuel Dalton, at Darby Square, Werborough Street, Dublin. 1734."

The earliest number of this newspaper, in Vol. II. of "Trinity College, Dublin, Collection," is No. 5, for September 14th, 1734.

This paper, eighteen inches by ten, printed on both sides of one leaf, appeared twice weekly. The latest, No. 15, in Trinity College Library, is for October 9th, 1734.

I am informed it was certainly in being two years after its origin, and had more advertisements than several of its cotemporary prints. It possessed no literary merit or ability of any kind, and evidently represented a class of readers who were incapable of appreciating either, in any journal they patronised.

"The County Journal.

"Printed in Dublin. 1735."

Some numbers of this paper were in the possession of the late Charles Haliday, for the year 1735. None are to be found in any other library, private or public, with which I am acquainted. In all probability it met the fate it deserved—died prematurely, of inanition and neglect.

Apparently Ireland had no politics, no polemics, no interests of art, science, trade, or manufactures that were worth the while of the editor of this paper, or indeed, with few exceptions, of any of his cotemporaries, to write about or to obtain advertisements in reference to, for publication.

Among the few exceptions to the rule, the most remarkable ones were those of the "Dublin Journal,"

and "Pue's Occurrences," from 1725, or thereabouts. Advertisements from that time augmented to some extent, and so did likewise the miscellaneous matter which passed under the name of domestic intelligence.

Of the origin of newspaper advertisements in England we find the following account in Andrews' "History of British Journalism" (Vol. I., p. 50):

"The 'Quarterly Review' (June, 1855), quotes an announcement of an heroic poem, called 'Trenodia Gratulatoria,' which appeared in the 'Mercurius Politicus,' of January, 1652, as the oldest of the great family of advertisements, and gives the credit to the booksellers of being the first to discover the use of the newspaper for this purpose. But the 'Quarterly Review' is in error. Mr. Nichols found in the first number of the 'Impartial Intelligencer' (March 1st to 7th, 1648), an advertisement from a gentleman at Candish, in Suffolk, offering a reward for two horses that had been stolen from him. For ten years this famous anonymous gentleman of 'Candish, in Suffolk,' found but few imitators, and those, without exception, only among booksellers and vendors of quack medicines; but in 1657, Newcomb, of Thames Street, appears to have awakened to the possibility of these advertisements being made a source of income to a newspaper, and on May 26th, he made the experiment with the 'Public Advertiser,' which is almost entirely filled with advertisements and shipping intelligence."

One of the earliest papers established in Dublin with

a view to affording the public facilities for advertising, was entitled:

“ The Universal Advertiser.

“ Published by Matthew Williamson, Dublin. 1731—1766.’”

This paper, originally 4to. size, was increased, in 1760, to small folio, of four pages, each side, in three columns; a copy of this paper is in my possession, No. 1,030, for November 27th, 1762, has nearly half its space occupied with advertisements.

“ The Dublin News Letter.

“ Printed by Richard Reilly, at the Stationer’s Hall, on Cork Hill, Dublin. 1736.’”

The earliest number of this paper, (No. 319,) I have seen, is in Vol. IV. of the Collection of Tracts of Trinity College, Dublin, Library, for the year 1739, beginning January 26th, 1739, and ending December 30th, 1740.

The size of this paper, from the commencement to March 11th, 1739, was 4to. At the last-mentioned date it was increased to small folio, four pages, three columns each, the last page generally filled with advertisements.

Among the memorabilia of the notices to be found in the volume in my possession of Reilly’s “ Dublin News-Letter,” for the years 1739—1740, the following extracts have interest of one kind or another for modern readers:

“ Mathersfort, January 30th, 1739.—Yesterday there was a dinner dressed on Lough Neagh; the middle dish

was a sheep, roasted whole on the ice. Two gentlemen drove their chaises to Bride's Island, which is two miles, followed by several hundreds; and, notwithstanding the prodigious crowd, there was not any accident."

The "Dublin News-Letter," February 2nd, 1739.

"On Wednesday last the famous country seat of Dangan, in the county of Meath, belonging to Richard *Wisley*, Esq.,* took fire, between the hours of ten and eleven at night, and was burnt down in two hours. The fire broke out in his own bed-chamber. There was nothing saved but his library and a desk, which contained his valuable papers. The fire was got to so great a height before the servants perceived it, that it was impossible to save any part, the water being all frozen up."

The "Dublin News-Letter," February 16th, 1739.

"The members of the Dublin Society, in order to promote such useful arts and manufactures as have not hitherto been introduced, or are not yet brought to perfection in this kingdom, give notice that they intend to encourage, by premium, annual contributions, or other methods, any persons who are well skilled in such arts and manufactures, and will carry them on in the best and most skilful manner.

"The Rev. Dr. Samuel Madden, in order to encourage a spirit of invention and improvement, among other benefactions, hath given an annual sum of one hundred pounds, to be distributed to the inhabitants of this kingdom only, by way of premium, in the following

* Wesley, of Dangan Castle, ancestor of the Duke of Wellington.

manner, namely, fifty pounds to the author of the best invention for improving any useful art or manufacture; twenty-five pounds to the person who shall execute the best statue or piece of sculpture, and twenty-five pounds to the person who shall finish the best piece of painting, either in history or landscape, and which shall be approved of as such by the Dublin Society, on or before January 20th in every year. The first premium to commence in January next."

The "Dublin News-Letter," February 23rd, 1739.

"Last Saturday, William Grattan, Esq., Councillor at Law, was married to Miss Marlay, daughter of the Right Hon. the Lord Chief Baron Marlay."

"The Dublin News-Letter," May 31st, 1740.

"As this is war time, no doubt you'll expect the news of those parts. Our privateers has brought into this island (Jamaica), by the best computation, about ten millions of dollars. Admiral Vernon has been bombarding Carthagena, knocked down all their churches, castles, and houses, but had not marines on board, therefore did not venture on shore; he has destroyed most of their ships of war, and taken 90,000 dollars, a great quantity of church plate, and thirty-four Fryars and Priests."

"The Dublin News-Letter," June 14th, 1740.

"Last week, at the assizes of Kilkenny, a fellow, who was to be tried for robbery, not pleading, a jury was appointed to try whether he was wilfully mute, or by the hands of God; and they giving a verdict that he was wilfully mute, he was condemned to be pressed to death."

“The Dublin News-Letter,” August 5th, 1740.

“The man whom we mentioned in our last to have received sentence to be pressed to death, at the assizes of Kilkenny, for not pleading, suffered on Wednesday last, pursuant to his sentence, which was as follows :

“That the criminal shall be confined in some low, dark room, where he shall be laid on his back, with no covering, except on his private parts, and shall have as much weight laid upon him as he can bear, and more ; that he shall have nothing to live upon but the worst bread and water, and the day that he eats he shall not drink, nor the day that he drinks he shall not eat, and so shall continue till he dies.”

“The Dublin News-Letter,” August 9th, 1740.

“THE KELLYMOUNT GANG OF AGRARIAN CONSPIRATORS
OF 1739—40.

“Clonfert, August 6th.—The following is a narrative of the pursuit and taking of some of the Kellymount gang. Sixteen of the Kellymount gang took two horses from Mr. Patterson, lately mentioned in the newspapers. As soon as he was informed of it, he got several of his friends to join him in the pursuit; the rogues divided, eight went towards the Devil’s Bit, where they stopped, set fire to a stack of turf, and were roasting an ox which they had killed, when the pursuers, who were directed by a shepherd, came within sight. Upon this, they mounted their horses, one of them took a different route from the rest, and escaped, two of them fell from their

horses, which were unruly with the noise of firing, and were taken, and three, with Brennan, the captain of the gang, retired to a wood on the bank of the Shannon; but, on finding it was not a fit place, they seized a boat, and all the oars of the other boats on that side, and passed over to the County of Galway. They were so unskilful in rowing, that the gentlemen who pursued them were two hours in getting boats and oars, and yet landed five minutes after them; they immediately pursued them to a wood, and found them in a sand pit, defended with stones and bushes. The pursuers were by this time very numerous, several gentlemen of the county of Tipperary, with their servants, coming in to the assistance of those who first pursued, but yet they declined attacking them; if any of them came within sight, the robbers fired at them, but prudently fired only two shots at a time and retired within the fastness. At last, one Otway, a corporal of the horse, said to be a comely, well made man, and six foot three inches high, advanced like one of Homer's heroes, and challenged Brennan to single combat, which he accepted; they fired each a pistol, without doing any mischief, and while he was charging again, one of the rogues shot Otway through the head, upon which Brennan advanced to seize his powder flask, which he did with success, but received a shot in the lower part of his belly, and another in the shoulder, which laid him flat; as none advanced, he continued in this position till night, and was then taken; but the other three, taking the opportunity

of the night, escaped out of the wood, and got to a river which they leaped into, and, by swimming and wading, got into an oat field, about a mile from the wood. Mr. Annesly, a clergyman of this diocese, and who lived near that place, went there the next morning, told the gentlemen where they were, upon which they surrounded the field, but none would venture into it.

“Mr. Annesly called his servant, who was an old soldier, and asked him if he would stand by him, adding that they were honest, and God would stand by them, and that if the rogues escaped, he and all the gentlemen must expect to be murdered. The man said that he would go with him to drag the Devil out of Hell, whereupon he ordered him to go into the field at an opposite gap, and advance as he advanced; he turned in his Spaniel, who scented two of the rogues in the midst of the field, who got up. Annesly's servant fired, but, as his gun was charged with small shot, he wounded one of them without doing much mischief; the other rogue was going to take up his blunderbuss, but Annesly advanced with his gun presented, and the fellow suffered him to come so near that he tripped up his heels, and then called to the gentlemen to take their prisoner; the third rogue was found in the ditch; these three are sent to Galway gaol, and Brenan is in the barracks of Nenagh, guarded by six troopers, two of which are brothers to Otway.

“Brenan is said to be a man of very mean appearance, has a freehold of nine pounds a year, near the coal pits, but, renting one of the coal pits, and not succeeding, he

formed this gang. He says they did not eat for three days; that they were in the wrong to avoid engaging at the Devil's Bit, for they were eight, the pursuers only nine, one of which having a red coat, made them believe that the army was in quest of them; that they had great hopes of escaping, for if they had killed one gentleman, the rest would keep at a distance; that they often made three times the number run away; that the gang consisted of twenty-five resolute fellows that would stand by each other; that there were several more, but they were a worthless pack; that if he were near the coal pits, six hundred, at least, would endeavour to rescue him.

“He was dressed in a fine suit of clothes of Mr. Callaghan's, had nine hundred pounds in a wallet when pursued, but his companions, he said, took it from him; he was very unconcerned in his behaviour till he heard that his three companions were taken. Upon hearing this he was much dejected, and said they were the most resolute of the gang. The design was to rob those who came to, and went from Banagher. Eight were to be posted in the King's County, and eight in this. A few days ago they beat up publicly in the Coal Pits, and listed three; one of the rogues taken was listed but seven days; one of the three that are sent to Galway is Darcy.

“We hear there are letters from Carlow, which advise that seven of the harbourers of the Kellymount gang are taken and committed to the gaol.”

"Reilly's Dublin News-Letter," September 9th, 1740.

"August, 30.—Yesterday morning, one Ned Darcy went to the house of one Doran, in the County of Carlow, took him out of his bed and, naked as he was, put him on horseback, and in that manner carried him through part of the Counties of Carlow and Kilkenny; and being met by several, were asked where they intended to take him, to which they replied they were going to hang him, he having been the occasion of hanging a brother and a father of Darcy's; and we have been since informed that, having taken him into Kellymount Wood, they cut out his tongue, cut off his ears, and pulled out one of his eyes, then desired him to go to Sir John, in Capel Street, give in his examination to him of their proceedings, and tell him they would serve him in the same manner were he in their power, as also Mr. Bush.

"Mr. Bush, who came from Carlow three days ago, had one hundred men armed to guard him, and Mr. Gore, the same from Waterford; so by this you may see in what fear we travel in this country.

"Carlow, August 29.—Darcy and five of his gang have taken from Mr. Paterson, of Knockeen, in the County, two horses and one mare, and in their return, desired some people they met to tell Mr. Patterson they intended to pay him another visit, and that they would not only take from him all he had, but disable him from pursuing Darcy a second time to the north to prosecute him.

“Waterford, August 23rd.—The assizes ended here the 16th, when nine persons received sentence of death, six of whom were brothers; seven of the nine were executed last Wednesday; three declared they were innocent of the fact for which they died, but the other four acknowledged their guilt. The two Donovans, who are brothers, are to be hanged next Wednesday, for robbing Mr. Matthew Heal, of Kappoquin, of £341 15s. 7d.”

“The Dublin News-Letter,” September 2nd, 1740.

“Clonmel.—On Monday last, Brenan, the principal of the Kellymount gang, was removed from the gaol at Nenagh, and on Wednesday put into Clonmel Goal, where he died that day of a mortification occasioned by one of the wounds he received when pursued in the County of Galway.”

“The Dublin News-Letter,” September 16th, 1740.

“Last Monday was executed at Kilkenny, Pat Breen, the harbourer, at the Court House, and Doyle Quin, Paul Brenan, alias Jones, Clear, and Thady Kelly, at the common gallows. On Thursday two prisoners were brought thither from Clonmell, viz., one Brenan, taken near Roscrea, and one Doran, both concerned with this gang. On Wednesday, Philip Comerford, a man of substance, who lives near Coolcullinduff, was tried for harbouring Darcy and his gang, and on full evidence convicted; as were also John Dooling, and his brother, Pat Dooling, for harbouring, and all three received sentence of death. There yet remains a great number to be tried.

"On Monday last, Darcy, one of the Kellymount gang, was tried at Carlow, on the Proclamation; and, being proved to be the man, in ten minutes he was taken from the dock and hanged, and his head fixed on the Court House."

"Reilly's Dublin News-Letter," November 8th, 1740.

"On Tuesday night last, about eleven o'clock, some of the butchers' boys of Ormond Market, and those of the Castle Market, met, and fought in Dame Street and Essex Street, in which quarrel, one Beaghan, an Ormond boy, received several wounds, of which he bled to death, another had his arm cut off, a third his fingers, and several others were wounded. Six of the rioters were taken, and committed to Newgate."

"The Dublin News-Letter," September 6th, 1740.

"Yesterday, Mr. Sewell, a degraded clergyman, was arraigned at the Commission of Oyer and Terminer, held at the King's Bench, and is to be try'd next Monday, for marrying clandestinely a young gentleman of this city."

"The Dublin News-Letter," October 25th, 1740.

"Yesterday, Edward Sewell, a degraded clergyman, was tried for clandestinely marrying a young gentleman of this city, was found guilty, and received his sentence to be executed Saturday se'nnight."

"The Dublin News-Letter," October 28th, 1740.

"This day Mr. Sewell, a degraded clergyman is to die for a clandestine marriage."

"The Dublin News-Letter," November 29th, 1740.

"Saturday last, Mr. Sewell, a degraded clergyman, was executed at Stevens Green, for a clandestine marriage. He declared at the place of execution that he never was married but to one woman, in order to clear himself from the aspersion of having more than one wife. He was extremely penitent and so low spirited that had he not been thrown off the moment he desired, he would have fainted away; he made not the least motion when he was turned off, but died immediately."

"The Dublin News-Letter," December 2nd, 1740.

"The same day died at Stevens Green, much lamented, Henry Ware, Esq., grandson of Sir James Ware, Auditor-General of Ireland in the reign of King Charles I.; and it is remarkable that this place continued in the family for a hundred years."

"The Dublin News-Letter," December 20th, 1740.

"Thursday night, as McAnally, a constable, was conveying McDaniel from the Tholsel, he was set upon by some fellows, one of whom, with a scymiter, cut his arm almost off, and wounded him in the arm and throat in such a manner that his life is despaired of; and McDaniel, his prisoner, with a bolt on him, made off. One of the fellows said to be concerned in the rescue was, yesterday morning, taken and committed to Newgate."

"The Dublin News-Letter," December 20th, 1740.

From 1740 to 1750 there were several papers printed in Dublin, either reprints of London journals, or acknowledged collections of English news from London

papers, not deserving of any detailed notice. Among papers of this kind may be mentioned

“The General Correspondent. A collection of news, taken from the ‘London Gazette,’ ‘Daily Post,’ ‘Daily Advertiser,’ ‘Daily Gazetteer,’ ‘The General London Post,’ ‘St. James’ Evening Post,’ &c. Printed in Dublin in 1740.” The latest number I have seen of this journal is No. 9 for August 5, 1740.

“Esdall’s News-Letter.

“Printed and published by James Esdall, at the corner of Copper Alley, Dublin. 1746.”

Of the *res gestæ* of James Esdall, Bookseller, all that is known is that he had been an apprentice of George Faulkner, and in 1745 established the “News-Letter Journal,” and three years later printed and published Dr. Charles Lucas’ weekly paper, the “Censor.” An interesting account of Esdall’s misfortunes, at the hands of the Irish House of Commons and the Government, on account of articles deemed libellous and seditious in the News-Letter, will be found at p. 15 of Vol. II. of Gilbert’s “History of Dublin.”

At the death of Esdall, in 1755, the News-Letter became the property of Henry Saunders, one of his (Esdall’s) employées, and then got the title of “Saunders’ News-Letter.”

“Esdall’s News-Letter” is only memorable for being the ancestor of “Saunders’ News-Letter,” which came into existence at the death of the founder of the paper in 1755.

“The General Advertiser.

“Printed and published by Alexander McCulloch, Skinner’s Row, Dublin. 1754.”

McCulloch was an extensive Dublin bookseller. In 1756 he was the publisher of the “Dublin Evening Post.” This paper was certainly got up in opposition to the “Universal Advertiser” of Williamson.

“The Shepherd.

“Published by Nicholas Crook, weekly, and sold by Dillon Chamberlain, in Smock Alley, and Peter Wilson, in Dame Street. 1759.”

The only copy of this paper I have seen is in the possession of my friend, Mr. Willis, of Ormond Quay. No copy of it exists in any of our public libraries. I have sought for it in vain in the Libraries of Trinity College and the Royal Dublin Society.

This weekly periodical is printed on both sides of one sheet of paper. On the first there is always an essay, moral or literary, never religious. On the second page there is a column of political matters, and another column of advertisements. Length of paper, one foot five inches; width of ditto, ten inches and a quarter.

The first number of this paper in the possession of Mr. Willis is for January 16th, 1759; the last for July following.

“The Public Gazetteer.

“Printed and published by William Sleater, at Pope’s Head, on Cork Hill, Dublin. 1758—1764.”

The "Public Gazetteer," professing to contain "the most remarkable Incidents of the present War, Foreign and Domestic Transactions, Original Pieces in prose and verse, Essays on various subjects," &c., &c., &c., was a weekly paper, 4to. size, eleven inches and a half in length, by eight inches and a half in breadth, the number of pages eight, each printed on both sides.

The date of the first number is September 23rd, 1758. The earliest number of this paper in the Library of the Royal Dublin Society is No. 344, the date of it January 1762; the last in that Collection is for September, 1771.

The general arrangement of the matter of this paper is as follows:

1. Foreign and London intelligence, occupying about a column and a half.
2. Irish intelligence, consisting of lists of births, deaths, and marriages, preferments, arrivals and departures of packets, brief accounts of accidents, murders, and robberies, about one column.
3. Advertisements, occupying twelve columns, or four of the eight pages.

In the possession of Mr. Willis, of Rathmines, a file of this paper exists, the latest number of which is No. 16, Vol VII., date August 4th, 1764. Of this paper, consisting chiefly of advertisements, strange to say, seven consecutive volumes are to be found in Trinity College Library.

The first number in this Collection is for September

23rd, 1758; the last in the Library is No. 618, for August 21st, 1764.

This paper was revived by Richard Marchbank, and existed in 1783, with his name affixed to it as printer.

In the order of dates of the origin of newspapers, the "Dublin Journal," set up by George Faulkner, should precede several journals of minor importance of a later date which are inserted at the end of this volume. The importance, however, of "Faulkner's Dublin Journal," and the extent of the notice, demanded more space than could be given to it at the end of this volume. The notice of it will, therefore be found at the beginning of the second volume of this work.

"The Dublin Courant.

"Printed by Oliver Nelson, at Milton's Head, Skinner's Row, Dublin. 1740—1749." *

This paper, published weekly, appears to have been set up mainly with a view to advertisements. Subscriptions and advertisements for this journal were taken in by no less than thirteen Dublin booksellers, whose names are paraded at the head of the paper, furnishing evidence of a growing taste for reading, that one hundred and twenty-two years ago, existed in Dublin.

The following are the names of the Dublin booksellers above mentioned :

R. Owen and C. Nelson, Skinner's Row; J. Risk, J. Leathy, W. Smith, A. Bradley, T. Moore, P. Wilson,

* The above date, 1749, indicates only the last number I have seen of the paper.

and G. and A. Ewing, of Dame Street; J. Smith, Blind Quay; E. Exshaw, on Cork Hill, near Copper Hill; C. Wynne, Capel Street; W. Powell, corner of Christchurch, over against the Tholsel.

Besides the above-named Dublin booksellers, there were several others at that period, namely, George Faulkner, Parliament Street; the Rev. Peter Droz, College Green, proprietor, editor, and publisher of the Dublin "Literary Journal;" George Grierson, Essex Street; William Ross, bookseller and auctioneer, College Green; Richard Pue, Skinner's Row; R. Owen, S. Hyde, P. Crampton, C. Wynn, C. Cannon, T. Butler, and W. Brien.

The "Dublin Courant" made its appearance in 1740, and was in being in 1749.

There are some early volumes of this journal in Trinity College Library. The date of the latest number is the 26th December, 1747. The earliest number in my possession of the "Dublin Courant" is No. 204, date, from Tuesday, April 1st, to Saturday, April 5th, 1746; the size of the paper, small folio, seventeen inches by eleven broad. Of the four pages (twelve columns), two pages are filled with advertisements.

In the number for April 26th, 1744, of the four pages of matter of the "Dublin Courant," the Irish news, properly so designated, occupies nineteen lines. Two and a half columns are occupied with advertisements of grand jury addresses. By the end of December of the same year, the Irish intelligence of the "Dublin

Courant" occupied on an average one of the twelve columns of which the paper consisted.

Of the advertisements in the "Dublin Courant" several are curious, and some of historical interest.

The grand jury of the Co. Westmeath, at the general assizes in Maryborough, March 21st, 1746, offer "a reward of twenty pounds sterling to any person or persons who shall, within twelve months from the date hereof, lodge an information against, and prosecute to conviction, any Papist inhabiting within the said county for keeping, concealing, or carrying arms, contrary to law."

The worthy grand jurors, whose names are affixed to this document, so illustrative of the blessings of the British Constitution in Ireland in 1746, deserve to have their names rescued from oblivion: John Denney Vesey, William Henry Dawson, Warner Westenra, Bartholomew William Gilbert, William Wall, Arthur Weldon, William Fitzgerald, Pigott Sandes, Richard Despard, William Pleasants, Anthony Sharp, Edward Gray, Martin Delany, Robert Flood, John Bamrick, Benjamin Fisher, Lamphy Higgins, John Whitley, Anthony Gale.*

A paragraph in the "Dublin Courant" for April 5th, 1746, announces:

"The Physico-Historical Society will hold their monthly meeting at the Lords' Committee Room, in the Parliament House, on Monday, April 7th, when the gentlemen who have undertaken the natural history of

* The "Dublin Courant."

the County of Dublin, intend to give a further account of their operations.

(Signed by Order)

"J. MARSHALL."

Another paragraph announces :

"This day is published the first part of Vol. III. of the 'Literary Journal.' To be had at the Rev. Mr. Droz's, on College Green."

The periodical above mentioned was the first genuine magazine printed in Ireland, of which a detailed account will be found in the volume devoted to Irish Magazine literature.

Strange enough in the next page of the same number of the "Dublin Courant," for April 5th, 1746, we find an advertisement headed :

"Proposals for publishing, by subscription, the 'Life of Julian the Apostate.' Translated from the French, by the Rev. Mr. Desvœux."

The reverend gentleman above mentioned was a countryman of the Rev. Mr. Droz, also a Huguenot clergyman, who had fled from their own country to Ireland, and exercised their clerical functions there, and both in conjunction with the publishing trade. When the Rev. Mr. Droz died, the Rev. Mr. Desvœux revived the "Literary Journal," under a slightly altered title.

There is another advertisement of a remarkable work :

"In the press and printing by subscription, the 'Antient and Present State of the County and City of

Waterford,' published with the approbation of the Physico-Historical Society. By Charles Smith."

Of judicial barbarity we find a specimen in this passage :

"James Lawler and Catherine Beaghan, his mother, for the murder of Richard Beaghan, at Ballyvass, in the county of Kildare: James Lawler to be hanged, and Catherine Beaghan to be burned, on Wednesday, August 5th, next. The said James Lawler was the son of the said Catherine Beaghan, by a former husband.

The "Dublin Courant," July 29th, 1746.

In another advertisement the Governors of the Erasmus Smith Schools' Estates offer "to lett, to Protestant tenents," either in the whole, or parcels, certain lands in the county of Galway, for the term of twenty-one years.

The enlightened and tolerant governors of a Christian educational institution, could not suffer the soil even of the large Protestant estates of it to be contaminated by the existence on it of peasants professing another Christian faith.

In the following passage an ancestor of the Duke of Wellington figures :

"Thursday last a cause in ejectment was tried at the Barr of the Court of Common Pleas, by a jury of the county of Kildare, wherein the lessee of Elisabeth Colley and Mary Colley, daughters and co-heiresses of Henry Colley, late of Castlearbery, Esq., was plaintiff, and

Richard Wesley, Esq., was defendant, and a verdict was given for the plaintiff."

The "Dublin Courant," June 14th, 1746.

In the column set apart for "Domestic Intelligence," we find the following paragraphs and notices of passing events of more or less interest:

"Saturday, the 7th instant, the Right Hon. the Earl of Kildare was married, to Lady Caroline Lenox, daughter to his Grace the Duke of Richmond. And we hear that His Majesty hath been pleased to create him Baron and Viscount of Great Britain, and that his letters patent are preparing."

The "Dublin Courant," February, 31st, 1746.

In the number of the "Dublin Courant" (No. 204, April 5th, 1746), the public are informed, "on the recommendation of Lord Chesterfield, our good Lord-Lieutenant, His Majesty has been pleased to grant five hundred pounds a year to the Dublin Society, to be laid out with their own subscriptions, in premiums, for the encouragement of husbandry and other useful arts in this kingdom."

"His Majesty has been pleased to create Richard Wesley, of Dangan, in the county of Meath, Esq., a peer of this kingdom, by the title of Lord Baron Mornington of Mornington, and letters patent are preparing for the seals thereof."

The "Dublin Courant," July 5th, 1740.

In the "Dublin Courant" for December 30th, 1740, the death of the eminent writer in several public journals, Dr. James Arbuckle, is recorded, to the universal regret of the citizens of Dublin, of all classes—and of all especially who had an intimate knowledge of the solid worth, sound principles, pure morals, kindly affections, and honesty of purpose of this highly-gifted gentleman."

HOW REBELS SHOULD BE DEALT WITH.

The following paragraph, explanatory of the very proper manner of dealing with the rebels of 1745, is particularly recommended to the notice of the "Times" newspaper conductors in February, 1867, clearly illustrative as it is of the same benign spirit of Christian humanity that manifests itself in the commendation of the short shrift and sharp practice, the sabre argument, and "blood letting" treatment when dealing with rebels in the field or in flight, and which we find in recent leading articles of the "Times" newspaper.

"Yesterday, between eleven and twelve o'clock, the three rebels, viz., Donald Mac Donald, James Nicholson, and Walter Ogilvie, were drawn in one sledge from the new jail in Southwark, to Kennington Common. Alexander MacGromber, who was to have suffered with them, received, the night before, a reprieve for twenty-one days. When they came to the gallows, they behaved with decency and composure of mind; before they were tied up, they prayed near an hour, without

any clergyman attending them, and when the halters, which were red and white, were put on them and fixed to the gallows, they prayed a few minutes before they were turned off. Walter Ogilvie delivered a paper to the officers of the guards, though none of them spoke to the populace, but referred to the accounts by them delivered. After hanging fourteen minutes, Donald MacDonald was cut down, and being embowelled, his entrails were flung into the fire, and the others were served in a like manner, after which their heads and bodies were put into shells, and carried back to the new jail. They flung away several printed papers, one of which the following is a copy of:

“ ‘ *A Word to Immortal Souls.*

“ ‘ READERS,

“ ‘ As the rebels, for their rebellion against our great and good King George are suffering justly for the same, what must rebels against the King of kings, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, expect in this life and that which is to come? O! miserable creatures indeed! What must we do in this distressed condition? ” ’ &c., &c.

The “ Dublin Courant,” August 30th, 1746.

“ Last Monday, as one Halfpenny, who has been for upwards of forty years hangman at Trim, in the county of Meath, was going to Athy, to execute James Lawler and Catherine Beaghan, convicted of the murder of Richard Beaghan, husband of the said Catherine, as

lately mentioned in the paper, he was set upon by some evil-minded persons at Kilcullen, who threw him into the river Liffey, and stoned him to death."

The "Dublin Courant," August 9th, 1746.

"Thursday night last, a gang of young fellows, armed with clubs, swords, and scymitars, attacked the watchmen of the parishes of St. Audeon, St. Catherine, St. James, and St. Nicholas Without, at their several stands, and wounded them grievously in their heads, legs, and arms, and other parts of the body."

The "Dublin Courant," December 30th, 1746.

APPENDIX TO VOLUME I.

No. I.

NONDESCRIPT PERIODICALS, WITH SOME CHARACTERISTICS OF
NEWSPAPERS; BUT MORE OF MAGAZINES AND ESSAYIST
MISCELLANIES.

1700—1750.

“The Examiner.

“Printed by C. Carter, at The Old Post Office, in Fishamble Street, Dublin. 1710—1713.”

This weekly miscellany of the *Essayist-Mercury* genus, eight inches by four, small 4to. size, usually of four pages, (price 4s. per annum), owed its origin and success to Dean Swift, Dr. Delany, and some other literary celebrities of the time. The first number was published the 19th August, 1710. The last number I have seen, and the latest of the three volumes in my possession, is No. 29, for 9th April, 1713.

“The Examiner” first made its appearance in London; the earliest number I have seen has the words—“Reprinted by C. Carter, Fishamble Street, Dublin.” From the 5th to the last number the imprint is—“Printed by C. Carter, at the old Post Office, Fishamble Street, Dublin.” The most

admirable articles to be found in "The Examiner," and most abounding in wit, humour, and sound round-about common sense, are Nos. 8, 9, 11, 13, 15—Vol. I.

"The Examiner" is frequently referred to by Swift in his letters, and several of his contributions to that periodical, as characteristic as any of his other compositions, are to be found indicated in George Faulkner's earliest editions of his works.

"The Examiner" furnishes a very obvious illustration of the fact that the worst possible use to which genius can turn its powers is to the advocacy or the maintenance of the views and interests of political or polemical factions.

Here was a periodical originated by literary celebrities of various literary categories, contributed to by writers of great eminence—by Swift, certainly, and by his own avowal in his controversy with Steele, up to the publication of a considerable part of the first volume; and yet the perusal of its numbers at the present time is a most irksome task, one that the writer of these observations found wearisome and *ennuyant* to the utmost possible extent. The polemical and political squabbles of a century and a half ago, which appeared to those persons engaged in them of such "great pith and moment," of such vast importance to the interests—not only of their own clime and time, but to those of men of all ages and of every clime, are now read of, with downright apathy and indifference. We are astonished at the importance attached to the views and interests of those contending factions, and marvel at the trouble they took to discomfit, discredit, and pull each other down. In every number of "The Examiner" we are reminded how evanescent were the advantages of the triumphs, and the vexations of the defeats achieved or suffered in these contests of conflicting factions.

And most especially are we reminded by the contributions of Swift, ably written though they were, how much it was to be lamented that such a man should have given up to the politics of faction those wonderful powers of mind which were meant for the noblest of all purposes, and for the good of mankind.

“The Intelligencer.

“Printed by S(arah) Harding, in Copper Alley, Dublin. 1728.”

This periodical miscellany, published by the widow of the unfortunate printer of the “The Drapier Letters,” who owed his ruin in purse and person to that publication, and who died in jail, first appeared in weekly numbers of from eight to sixteen pages, 12mo. each number, in 1724.

A volume of this very rare publication is in my possession. The first number is dated May 11th, 1724. The sixteenth and last number has no date, but as the publication of the paper was weekly the date of it must have been the 21st of August, 1724.

The biographers of Swift seem not to have been aware of the use that Swift's contributions to this periodical might have been to them. In the same volume of “The Intelligencer,” above referred to, bound up with it at the end of the volume, are the following tracts of the same size, and printed likewise (all but two) by Mrs. Harding:—

1. A letter to “The Intelligencer,” written by a young gentleman of 14 years of age, on the deplorable conditions of younger brothers.
2. The memorial to the R—d. J—n S—t, of the poor inhabitants, tradesmen, and labourers of the kingdom of Ireland. Presented by Thomas Walsh, Skinner's Row.

3. An answer to a paper called a memorial of the poor inhabitants, &c., of Ireland. By the author of "A short View of the State of Ireland."*
4. A letter to the people of Ireland, relating to the copper half-pence coining in Dublin, shewing that this nation will gain £100,000 sterling cash by the same. Printed by E. Waters, Blind Quay, near Essex Avenue.
5. "The case of many thousand poor families and housekeepers of the city of Dublin. Addressed in a letter to a worthy member of parliament concerning the extravagant rates and price of coals in this city, with a recommendation for the importing Kilkenny coal here, from Ross, and Waterford, and other Irish Ports." Date of letter, 28th May, 1729.

The No. 3 and 5 papers were certainly productions of Swift. The last winds up the recommendation of the use of Irish coal with these words—"What will neighbouring nations say?—what will Posterity say of us?—that for so great a series of years as these collieries have been found out, that the use of so great a blessing as this should have been so long neglected. They may truly say of us, 'an ignorant, indolent, cursed sloathful people,' as when we find a good mine we don't make use of it."

In "Swift's Works," Vol. I., pages 261 to 287 (16mo. edition printed by George Faulkner, 1762), we find the several articles written by Swift, and published by him in that periodical, in 1728, are thus headed—"The three following pieces are extracted from a weekly paper published in Dublin ("The Intelligencer") which were afterwards collected into a volume and reprinted in London. The Rev.

* This admirable paper is quite as applicable to our own times as it was to those of the Dean of St. Patrick's.

Dr. Sheridan and some other gentlemen wrote the other papers."

The first of these articles is in the third number of "The Intelligencer," an admirable defence of Gay's "Beggars' Opera," in Swift's best style.

The second article of Swift's, in the fifth number of "The Intelligencer," is an essay on the kind of education that qualifies a young clergyman of the Church of England, wherein Swift's master talent of irony is displayed in an unmistakeable manner.

The third article of Swift's, in the ninth number of "The Intelligencer," is an excellent essay on the defects of modern education, and their pernicious results as affecting the interests, not only of individuals, but of the State.

In Vol. IV. of the same edition of "Swift's Works," at page 241, we find another essay of Swift, published in the nineteenth number of "The Intelligencer," with the following prefatory notice of it:—

"In this discourse the author personateth a country gentleman of the north of Ireland, and this letter (dated 2nd December, 1728) is supposed as addressed to the author of the Drapiers Letters. The subject of this essay is the depression of all material interests of the Irish people, and the great evils arising to trade, commerce, and agricultures, from the want of a sufficient circulating medium in Ireland."

This article is not surpassed in power by any of "The Drapiers Letters."

In the same volume, at page 289, we find another edition of an answer to a paper called "A memorial of the poor inhabitants, tradesmen, and labourers of the kingdom of Ireland."

By that paper, dated 25th March, 1726, we find the truculent judge by whom John Harding, the printer of the

Drapiers Letters, was so severely dealt with, Judge Whitshed, was then dead; his victim, the unfortunate John Harding, Swift's printer at that period, was then dead also. Swift, in the essay in the 19th number of "The Intelligencer," apologizes *more suo* for reprobating the conduct of such a man as Whitshed—"As to my speaking thus of a person dead, the plain, honest reason is the best. He was armed with power, guilt, and will to do mischief, even where he was not provoked, as appeareth by his prosecuting two printers (Edward Waters and John Harding) to death, and both to ruin, who had neither offended God nor man, nor the king, nor himself, nor the public."

In Vol. XVI. of Swift's works, same edition as the one previously cited, at page 232, Swift, in a letter to the Rev. Mr. Worrall, dated 29th January, 1728-9, says—"I send you enclosed the fruit of my illness to make an 'Intelligencer.' I desire you will show it to Mrs. Harding (the widow and successor in trade of his former printer, Mr. John Harding), and let your letter be in an unknown hand, and desire her to show it to the author (qy. Editor?) of 'The Intelligencer,' and to print it if he thinks fit."

At the end of his letter he instructs Mr. Worrall to remonstrate with Mrs. Harding on the subject of the serious injury done to writers of papers in "The Intelligencer," by the incorrectness of the printing of articles in that paper.

George Faulkner, in a note to the preceding passage, adds:—" 'The Intelligencer' was a weekly paper, wrote by Dr. Swift, Sheridan, Helsham, &c., which was afterwards reprinted in London, in one volume, 8vo."

The Drapiers Letters, be it remembered, made their first appearance in the same form and size as "The Intelligencer" paper, in 12mo. The first letter was dated August, 1724, and printed by John Harding.

For that publication in 1724, Gilbert states, "Harding was thrown into prison, where he was suffered to die for want of bail." (Hist. of Dublin, Vol. i. p. 59.) Perhaps if all the circumstances of that case were known, a serious imputation of neglect, and something worse, on the justice and generosity of Dean Swift might not justly lie. There is, no doubt, the publication of writings of Dean Swift mainly, but not altogether, occasioned the persecution of that printer.

But I am not acquainted, nor can any writer of the present time be acquainted with all the circumstances of the case, and I am disposed to think a man of Swift's genius and character, could not have had something exculpatory on that subject said for him, if any representative of his, or exponent of his acts and principles, and conduct in reference to them, were now in being to vindicate them.

In Birch, Hawkesworth and Wilkes' Edition of Swift's works, published by Faulkener (Dublin, 1767, 16mo., vol. XVI., page 232), we find several references to Swift's contributions to "The Intelligencer."

In Vol. XII., at page 37—an article published in the first number of "The Intelligencer"—on "The Folly and Vice of our Town of Dublin."

In the same vol., page 41—an article published in the fifth number of "The Intelligencer"—on "Discretion, as more useful to put men out of the reach of fortune; or the malignity of the confederacy of dunces, which is always entered into against a man of great genius, whenever he appears in the world."

In same vol., page 47, there is an article re-published in the seventh number of "The Intelligencer," on "The servile ways of obtaining preferment in the Church, and the literary tastes, and poetical talents, and gentlemanly manners and conduct, that unfit a man for it."

In the same vol., page 53, we have an excellent article, published in the fifteenth number of "The Intelligencer," headed "Lamentations;" complaining of the want of attention paid by his countrymen to a pamphlet, written by the Drapier, of vital importance to the interest of Ireland, entitled "Short View of the State of Ireland."

Two articles from "The Intelligencer" are given in Dr. Arbuthnot's "Miscellanies," "containing all the pieces in verse and prose, published in Dr. Swift's and Mr. Pope's Miscellanies, which are not printed in their separate works, and therein first collected in one volume." (Dublin, 12mo., Exshaw, 1746). The preface to this volume is dated from Twickenham, May 27, 1727, and is signed by Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope.

In this volume of the two letters to "The Intelligencer" periodical there is one signed Patrick (Swift) on the three religions of the three brothers, George, Patrick, and Andrew.

The second; "A demonstration that Ireland is one of the most flourishing and prosperous kingdoms in the whole world, and that the accounts given in the papers, of the distress and poverty of this island, are utterly destitute of foundation."

This excellent paper is in Swift's happiest strain of irony, and is quite as applicable to the official statements made in our own times, by a late amiable Nobleman and his veracious secretary, as they were to the official parrot cry of Irish prosperity mongers, of one hundred and thirty years ago.

In Mr. Woodward's London Edition (16mo., 1751) of Swift's works, we find no less than nine contributions of Swift, that had been published in "The Intelligencer," given *in extenso* in that edition of his works.

In Vol. IX., at page 162, there is an article of Swift's

that had appeared in the third number of "The Intelligencer," not noticed in the preceding editions, "on the drama, written in 1728."

"The Temple—Oge Intelligencer. [To be continued weekly.]

"Printed by S. Powell, Crane Lane, Dublin. 1728."

The only numbers of this humourist periodical I have ever seen are in my possession ; the first, second, and third numbers.

Each number extends to 8 pages 12mo.

The design of the originator of "The Temple-Oge Intelligencer" seems to have been to furnish a little agreeable banter for the beaux and belles of Dublin. who frequented the Temple-Oge Spa, on the pretence of drinking the waters on account of impaired health ; but mainly, perhaps, for the amusements of the place, the morning drive, the promenade, and "the dancing at the Wells," that formed part of the Temple-Oge Hygiene.

Probably "The Temple-Oge Intelligencer," followed the example of a vast number of Irish periodicals, and "died out" soon after it was born.

"The Lucubrations of Salmanazar Histrum, Esq., together with the Plain Dealer. Revised and corrected by the author.

"Printed and published by Powell, Dublin, 1 Vol., 12mo., 1730.

This reproduction of a series of essays, some of which first appeared in "The Public Intelligencer" newspaper, in a separate form, is one of those miscellanies which preceded, and may be considered the precursors of the regular magazine.

The editor, in his preface to the volume above referred to, complains that several gentlemen of his acquaintance, who

had volunteered their assistance, and induced him to undertake the publication of those essays, "had left him to bear the whole weight of those papers, and of four large pamphlets also, which the affairs of his country required from him within the last Sessions of Parliament." He acknowledges, however, his obligations to many correspondents for their ingenious and entertaining communications.

The first of the essays in this volume of articles, entitled "The Plain Dealer's Intelligencer," is dated the 7th of August, 1728.

The subject of it is, "A merry accident which happened lately at the Temple-Ogue." The scene of the accident is a Chalybeate Spa and fashionable watering-place in the vicinity of Bathfarnham, four miles from Dublin, which it appears was at that time (138 years ago) an agreeable and salutary place of public resort for valetudinarians, and hypochondriacal people of fashion. The writer says:—"I have not once in this whole season failed to be the first at the Wells of Temple-Ogue, and the last that left them, so that nothing could escape my observation. I always danced six country dances of a morning," &c.

The writer goes on to say, there was a weekly ball at Temple-Ogue most fashionably attended. The hour of meeting in the promenade room, where the waters were distributed, was eight o'clock in the morning. "The distance from town requiring an hour in the passage, the ladies must rise between six and seven in the morning in order to arrive there in time; and it is scarce to be imagined what a good effect these early hours often have, not only on the health and constitution, but on the very life, spirit, and conservation of the fair sex."

"The very rising betimes is a most valuable thing, and the air and exercise in going, the waters, the innocent

recreations of the place, and the returning again with a good stomach, are better for the health, and more conducing to long life than all the learning of Galen, and all the aphorisms of Hippocrates."

The Chalybeate Waters of Temple-Ogue, that were so celebrated 138 years ago, are no longer in request; their very existence, if they do exist, is unknown. Probably there is not an individual who could now point out the locality of them, or the scenes of those festivities and recreations, of which Arbuckle has given us the details.

The best paper in the "Lucubrations of Salmanazar Histrum," is the nineteenth number of "The Plain Dealer" (Dec. 8, 1728), in which there is an article forcibly impressing on the ladies of Ireland the obligations that lie on them, of encouraging the use of the manufactures of their own country, and thus of contributing to the support of the industrious poor of their own land. This excellent article is not inferior in merit to any of the writings of Swift on the same subject.*

Of the reprint, in 12mo., of those articles, published in a Dublin periodical, it may be observed that among the ephemeral London periodicals of the Essayist class, the titles of which were pirated from time to time by Dublin printers and booksellers, was one entitled "The Plain Dealer;" the first number of which was published the 12th April, 1712, by Morphew, London, a single leaf, small 4to., printed on both sides.

A single copy of this periodical exists in the first vol. of the collection entitled "Irish Tracts," in five vols., folio, in Trinity College Library, Dublin (in MSS. room).

In the reprint of miscellaneous essays, published in 12mo.,

* The first number of "The Plain Dealer's Intelligencer" is dated August 7th, 1728, the last (No. 26), January 2nd, 1729.

by Powell, Dublin, in 1730, under the title of "Lucubrations of Salamanazar Histrum," the editor says in the preface :—

"Among those who have devoted their literary labours to the benefit of society in Ireland, by disseminating essays calculated to refine and polish, to give a tone of good breeding and politeness to social intercourse, particular obligations are due to Mr. Arbuckle, who, after having carried on 'The Weekly Journal' in this city with so much success for two years, hath laid down a scheme for our entertainment and instruction in the late papers of the editor, called 'The Tribune,' that deserved much greater encouragement than it got."

The editor of "The Intelligencer and Plain Dealer," goes on to say, it is much to be regretted that Mr. Arbuckle had been obliged to abandon his most useful design, the publication of "The Tribune," such was the want of taste and disposition on the part of those who had the means of patronising useful literary undertakings to support that paper.

I have not been able to discover in any of our public libraries, a file, nay—a single number—of the original publication, "The Tribune."

In the library, however, of Mr. Charles Halliday, there is a Dublin reprint of "The Tribune," containing the twenty-one numbers which were published of it, extending to 78 pages, small 8vo. There was a London reprint of this volume in 1729.

The James Arbuckle whose articles are referred to, was a native of Dublin. Under the signature "Hibernicus" he contributed to "Faulkner's Dublin Journal," and re-published, in two vols., 8vo., those contributions entitled "Letters and Essays on Several Subjects published in the 'Dublin Journal.'" Lon., 1729.

I have seen a broadside sheet, without name, date,

or place of printing, entitled, "The Last and Dying Words of D——n A——rb——kle, author of 'The Weekly Journal.'"

In "Exshaw's Magazine," for December, 1742, we find an obituary notice of Mr. James Arbuckle in the "Monthly Chronologer of Ireland."

"The Weekly Amusement, or Universal Magazine, containing Essays, &c.

"Printed by James Hoey, Skinner Row, Dublin, 1735."

"The Medley.

"Printed and Published by George Harrison, Meeting House Lane, Corke, 1738."

This periodical, small folio, twelve inches long by eight broad, is one of the half-newspaper, half-essay description of serials which it is difficult to determine the class of.

But, for reasons which will be specified, it must be set down, I think, in the category of newspapers. "The Medley" is a paper of four pages in eight columns. The average distribution of the matter is as follows:—Every number begins with an essay on some subject, either moral, statirical-bantering, or burlesque, occupying three columns. Then follows one column of English and Continental news from the English papers. Then comes half a column of Cork intelligence. The remaining three columns and a half are filled with advertisements.

In a volume of early Cork newspapers and magazines, for which I am indebted to the distinguished archæologist, the late Mr. John Windele, of Cork, there are fifteen numbers of this journal, the earliest of which is the tenth number, published April 20th, 1738, and the latest, No. 22, published July 15th, 1738.

"The Serio-jocular Medley.

"Printed and published by Andrew Welsh, Castle Street, Cork, 1738."

This periodical is a bare-faced piracy of "Harrison's Medley;" the same size, style of printing, and arrangement of matter. The first article in the "Serio-jocular Medley" is more satirical or ludicrous than that of its predecessor. The advertisements are very few, and the English and Continental news is more abundant; but in neither journal is there a particle of wit, talent, or vivacity.

"The Medler.

"Printed for and Published by Peter Wilson, at Gay's Head, near Dame Street, small 4to, Dublin, 1743."

This periodical, one of the very early publications of *non-descript* class of miscellanies (half essayist, half-news-paper), consisted of four pages of matter printed on each side. The first number was for January 5th, 1743-4; the 26th, and last, for 28th June, 1744. This curious specimen of a Dublin weekly journal is of two leaves, 4to size, printed on each side, nine inches long and seven broad, in eight columns. The volume of this paper in my possession, consisting of 26 numbers, the first dated 5th January, 1743; the last, the 26th June, 1743, is the only I have ever seen, and the book auctioneers of Dublin state they have never seen a copy of it.

The following is a summary of the contents of the first number. The first article of this paper is an essay on the character of a meddler. He is described as a censor of manners, a monitor of morals, a guardian of virtue, a director of conduct, a possessor of universal knowledge, an uncommon prudence, an ingenious impartiality, and well-established authority. The appropriate motto of "The Meddler," therefore, is "*Aliena Negotia Curo.*" *Hor.*

The duties which "The Meddler," or "Busy Body," or "Curious Impertinent," or "Diligent Idler," assigns to himself, are those which are prompted by an universal love of mankind. Nevertheless, "The Meddler" describes him-

self as the son of an astute solicitor, who married a giddy-pated milliner. He informs the public he has the assistance of a club of six gentlemen in bringing out this paper, who are determined to be useful and agreeable to the world, and to eschew all party controversy and political reflection.

Of the eight columns of this paper this leader occupies five and a half.

The news occupies one and a half, and the advertisements half a column.

These are the average proportions of the leader, news articles, and advertisements of all the numbers.

The news articles are always headed "Dick's Coffee-House."

These articles do not contain a single word of Irish news. All the intelligence given is taken from the "London Gazette," is of wars in foreign countries—in Constantinople, Hungary, Italy, France, or the Law Countries.

As for the leaders, nothing can be more innocent of any attempt to offend or defend the interests of government of Church or State than those of "The Meddler." They are quite free, too, from any pretence to literary merit. The only appearance of ambition in them is the presumption of attempting to be funny; and anything more dreary than the efforts of "The Meddler" to be jocular, cannot be imagined, except by those who have seen the awkward endeavours at friskiness of camels, or faint efforts at sprightliness of drunken mutes at funerals. There are two exceptions, however, in these leading articles. There is one No. 11 (March 15th, 1744), and another, No. 17 (April 26th, 1744), headed "Letters from a Persian (Aram) in Ireland to his friend (Helim) in Sheraz."

The first of these letters, in the style of those of "The Turkish Spy," ridicules some of the salient absurdities of

the manners and customs of the gentlefolks of Ireland of the time. The second letter from the Persian in Ireland, ridicules the national mania for politics and polemics, and aversion for all intellectual pursuits and literary occupations.

“ Another thing,” says the Persian Aram, writing from Dublin to his friend in Sheraz, April the 26th, 1744, not 1764, gentle reader, you will be good enough to bear in mind, very remarkable among them (the people of Ireland) is, that whereas all other nations have an innate partiality for everything that is the produce of their native country, on the contrary these people think nothing worthy of praise but what comes from abroad. Such is their blindness in this respect that they often prefer things because foreign, to what is vastly superior in real worth at home. Everything that comes from a distant clime has many admirers, even before they know its merit; and everything but that which is proposed among themselves is sure to meet with opposition from such persons as are little acquainted with its use. This must be a great discouragement to some useful arts and sciences; but, however, it has one good effect in this: that those persons who are lavish of their time in writing for the entertainment of others, and who, in other parts of Europe, are esteemed at a high rate, are here entirely discountenanced; for, happily, as they think none of their countrymen capable of being conspicuous in any way, so they give not encouragement to such as would otherwise be willing to attempt the task.”

The Irish gentleman who transformed himself into a Persian traveller, sojourning in Ireland, in 1744, was certainly no fool. Swift might have attributed to him, without any wrong to his genius, the letter above cited under the signature of Aram.

There is another passage in the same letter, to which the same observation applies, which my readers will not complain of being cited here—

“As to their laws, which thou desirest an account of, all I can say is, that they seem to have been contrived rather for the benefit of the Professors of Science, than the advantage of the clients who have recourse to them, the former being the only persons who receive any addition to their fortunes from them.

“By the irregularity I have observed in the execution of justice on malefactors, I believe there are no settled rules for it, but that the infliction of punishment lies mainly in the power of the magistrature. All I can say is, that a great many crimes are punished with death—murder sometimes, but robbery always.” * * * * Thus, my Helim, have I endeavoured to satisfy thy curiosity. My body laboureth under the remains of a grievous malady, but my mind enjoyeth a free serenity.”

There is a passage relative to education in Ireland, wherein there is a sly hit at Trinity College, very much in Swift's style—

“There is for you, if of riper years, a sort of cloyster here, where they retire to study, at least, this seemeth to have been the original design of the structure. What use it is now applied to I cannot tell thee.”

For the last letters of the Persian in Ireland, “The Meddler” certainly deserves to be remembered with some respect by all Irishmen who feel any interest in the encouragement of intellectual pursuits, and any abhorrence of the discouragement of them and those who follow them.

“Brett's Miscellany ; A Collection of Divine, Moral, Historical, and Entertaining sayings and observations, by Peter Brett, Parish Clerk of Clondalkin.

"Printed by S. Powell, Dublin, in 12mo., and sold at the Author's Lodgings, at the White Cross Inn, Thomas St., 1748."

These "Sayings and Observations" are, in fact, quaint essays, written by a man very much of the character and constitution of mind of the singular being, John Dunton, bookseller, of London, "Composer of Works in Prose and Poety, Moralist, Traveller, and Observator of Manners and Customs, In Hibernia and some other semi-Barbarous nations."

Peter Brett, being a parish clerk, thinks it necessary to put a solemn and sanctimonious face on his lucubrations in prose and verse. Several chapters are filled with "Divine and Comfortable Texts for Repenting Sinners." One chapter is designated "Texts of Thunder and Lightning;" another "Texts of Loyalty."

The latter terminates with an appropriate poetical effusion of Peter Brett, Parish Clerk of Clondalkin, more remarkable for the fervour of the loyalty than the loving spirit of the piety of the composer:—

"If God you truly fear, you'll serve your king.
 Destroy his foes, and faithful be to him.
 God bless King George, and grant him longer reign.
 I wish that all the rebels now were slain,
 And then our trade would flourish once again."

Peter's zeal was evidently of an ardent character. The minister of Clondalkin, whose clerk he was, in all probability was one of those bright and shining lights of earnest fire-and-sword sanctity with which the Church of Ireland was blessed abundantly in the reign of the second George.

"The Censor, or The Citizens' Journal," originated and conducted mainly by Dr. C. Lucas.

"Printed by James Esdall, Copper Alley. Dublin, 1749—1750.

This weekly political journal owes its origin to Dr. Charles Lucas. The first number appeared 3rd June, 1748; the last and twenty-fourth number was published 28th July, 1750. All the numbers of "The Censor" were collected and re-published by Lucas, in his "Political Constitutions of Great Britain and Ireland," in two volumes, 8vo., London, 1751. Literary merit "The Censor" has certainly not the slightest claim to. So much mere verbiage and heavy matter that is "flat, stale, dull, and unprofitable," it would be difficult to equal. The verosity of Lucas's writings, from first to last, was the greatest defect they could be charged with.

Of the two volumes of the productions of Lucas, "The Censor, or Citizens' Journal" occupies one hundred and twenty-seven pages. Each number occupies generally about five pages.

The subjects were those Lucas continuously dealt with—politics, parochial, municipal and parliamentary, and polemics.

The first number is dated June 3rd, 1749.

Lucas, denounced in Parliament, had to fly to England, October 10th, 1749. This paper, nevertheless, continued to be published till May 5th, 1750. Lucas, in this periodical, continued in the same strain in which he began his career in the press. He worried his readers to death with grievances, abuses, wrongs, and violations of principles. The articles which brought on him the vengeance of the Irish House of Commons, brought down also the strong hand of power on the unfortunate printer. Several numbers of this paper were condemned by the House of Commons for highly seditiously and unjustly reflecting on the King, Lord Lieutenant, and Parliament; also with rebellion and civil war.

Esdall, who, previously to 1755, had been the publisher and

chief proprietor of "The Dublin Newspaper," was brought to the verge of ruin by the publication of Lucas's address in his "News Letter Periodical." After a short time he was obliged to fly, and at his death, in 1755, "The News Letter" became the property of Mr. Henry Saunders, who had been employed by Esdall in his printing business; "from whom," we are told by Gilbert, "the paper obtained the name it still bears."

"The Universal Advertiser, or a collection of Essays, Moral, Political and Entertaining : Together with Addresses from several Corporate and other bodies in Ireland, to their Representatives in Parliament, relative to their conduct on 23rd of November, and 17th of December, 1753 ; as also, Compleat Lists of the voters on both Sides, in the above interesting decisions : And the Authentick History of Doctor Hellebore : With other Interesting Particulars, not inserted in a former Impression."

"Printed by L. Dann, Dublin. 1753—1754."

This publication may be considered as the winding up of the Lucas pamphlet controversy. It consists of essays previously published, chiefly in "The Universal Advertiser Newspaper," and an account of the important issue of that controversy in the discussion in the Irish House of Commons, on the 17th of December, 1753, which was considered the beginning of that effort for Irish Parliamentary independence, which terminated in Grattan's celebrated resolutions of 1782.

"The Tickler.

"Printed by Halked Garland, Essex Street, Dublin, 1748."

Ireland had her Boeotian Pamphleters, scribblers in ephemeral periodicals, as well as England ; her Elkanah Settles, Curls, Tibalds, Dennisses, Henlys, &c., but, unhap-

pily, no Alexander Popes to sing their dullness or scurrility. But England is indebted to the sister island for not a few of those worthies whom Pope "damned to everlasting fame." Matthew Concannen was an Irishman, bred to the law, author of several dull and dead scurrilities in the British and London Journals, and in a paper called "The Speculatist."

Of Irish periodicals, very remarkable for their rarity, or curious for their anomalous character, singular appearance, or sudden and speedy death, one of the most rare is "The Tickler," a series of papers, seven in number (published periodically), satirical, and sarcastic, the chief aim and object of which was to turn Charles Lucas into ridicule. The author of this anonymous production was the Dr. Paul Hiffernan of unhappy notoriety for imprudence.

These papers appeared separately, but were collected and published in a pamphlet, entitled "'The Tickler,' Nos. 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, and 7. 2ndly, reviewed, corrected, and augmented, with notes, humourous and serious, and an epistle dedicatory Sir Charles Lucas Freeman."

This pamphlet is ornamented with a clever caricature frontispiece, well engraved, representing Lucas, admirably sketched, submitting to the process of being tickled by a buffoon. This production extends to fifty-four pages. In point of literary ability it certainly surpasses all the productions of the Anti-Lucas Class, in the pamphlet war of this period.

EXTRACTS FROM THE SEVEN NUMBERS OF "THE TICKLER":

"Next to our holy religion, what so sacred as our Constitution? which should not in a civilized city be, with impunity, profaned by the unhallowed lips of tinkers, cobblers, and drug vendors. It derogates from the awful respect due to the glorious word, and blunts upon trifles that energy

which would be of the greatest consequence in cases of real emergency.

“Thus, ‘the church is in danger,’ a nation-rousing phrase, was by a very trifling accident turned to ridicule. A sporting young miss skipping over a candle, her chemise took fire, who, to receive more immediate succour, cried out, ‘the church is in danger!’ which, being afterwards applied to every buffoon occasion, the term grew into disrepute; so I prophetically apprehend to hear our shoe-blacks, on every quarrel, cry out to each other, ‘D—n me, you dog, you are an enemy to the Constitution!’”

The following extracts are fair specimens of the style, tone, cleverness, scurrility, sarcastic humour, and grave irony of “The Tickler.”

By them it will be perceived how happily the weak points in Lucas’s character and public conduct, are ridiculed, especially his intolerance and frequent recourse in his harangue to the popular clap-trap cries of the time—“The Church is in danger,” “The Protestant Constitution of this realm is assailed,” “Popery and the Pretender have their champions in our press, our senate, and our common council.”

“Hélas !
 Pauvre Lucas,
 Que tu fais du Fracas.”
 CHANSON DE PONT NEUF.

“Let him take my word for it, there is more to be got by the profitable tinkling of pestle and mortar than by the sterile jingle of periodic numbers.

“If all gentlemen who see the real grievances this poor kingdom labours under, and who can write better than orator L—c—s, were to take pen in hand, what inundations from the press, and what the consequence? Why, to set the whole nation a *madding*, and, like so many unchained

Bedlamites, in a mistaken notion to get free, beat their brains out against bars too strong for them to remove.

"I have heard of a cobbler, at Lisle, in Flanders, who, irritated at an account of the loss of the battle of Dettingen, returned in dudgeon home, to throw out in safety those invectives he did not chose to hazard in the market-place, his coffee house to learn news. What muttering as he clambered up to his aerial dwelling-place! 'France is ruined!—the king betray'd!—all is lost!—I'll, by the Lord, to Versailles, be truth-bearer to the king, and set things to right!—that villain Grammont! that old Noailles!' With this last exclamation he arrived at his garret, seated himself on his paternal stool, with folded arms, and one leg mounted on the other. What various projects succeeded to each other in his troubled thoughts, while patriot indignation frowning sat on his cobblerian brow!

"Poor spouse asked him, with a timid voice, if he would be pleased to have his dinner. Up started he, and, foaming, cried, 'Talk to me, vile wretch, of a dinner, while the Constitution is in danger!'"

"'Alas! my dear,' said she; 'what are you to the Constitution, or the Constitution to you? you are but a poor cobbler!'"

"Stung at that lessening term, he darted a wrathful glance at her, and through the sky-light looked to heaven with an upbraiding eye. 'O thou blind —, Fortune! Gods! that a great man should be born in an undistinguishing country!' Then, traversing his narrow room with hasty footsteps, slap went the soup pot, down fell the pitcher, and trembled every shelf. Squat lay poor puss, and, with a supplicating eye, deprecated the politician's oft-experienced kick. But at the end of an hour's heroic vapouring, and

sublime meditation, hunger prevailed, and politics subsided. As he viewed the broken pot, and scattered fragments of his abortive dinner, thrice he shook his head, and thrice he smote his breast, and, in a submissive, relenting tone, asked his wife for something to eat, said he began to see his folly, and declared he would never more perplex himself about what concerned him not, which, being known abroad, he shortly recovered his long interrupted trade, and inscribed for motto over his bulk, to convince the world of a thorough reformation,

“‘*Ne sutor ultra crepidam.*’

“My readers may apply this piece of private history to whom they please.

“He then who laughs at C—— L—c—s insults the metropolis, affronts the most noble province, attacks the kingdom, intends to destroy the present happy constitution, subvert the establishment, and introduce popery, slavery, arbitrary power, the inquisition, Pope, devil, and all—oh, Lord! oh, Lord!

“From the nonsensical chaos of an assailant of ‘The Tickler,’ I’ll drag two or three of the most intelligible phrases to give a faint idea of the politeness and elegance of the writing of the recent vindication of Lucas.

“But this warning let me give that hair-brained child of dullness, ‘The Tickler,’ to send no more of his works abroad, for if he does, I will so tear his patched, borrowed, motley papers, that not a scribbling blockhead in the city but shall own this quintessence of scurrility, their renowned and truly infamous brother.” I defy you, my dear . . .

“As to your picturing my face, you will be in the necessity of all daubers to put my name to it, to inform the

public whom the unlikeness was intended for. Alexanders can be drawn but by an Apelles.

"When Sir Godfrey Kneller was appointed to draw the portrait of his late Majesty, Addison sent him several poetical hints; so to warm your cold imagination for your arduous enterprise, I will give you the picture I have drawn of myself, in a poem, when a student:—

"Perhaps the curious would my person know.
I humbly answer, 'tis but so and so,
Not over tall, nor despicably low.

Black frowning brows my hollow eyes o'ershade,
They were, I fear, for a physician made;
Foreseeing Nature gave this anti-grace,
And marked me with a medical grimace.

In limbs, proportion'd; body, somewhat gross;
Various my humour—fiery, morose;
The ladies' slave; when satisfied, a king;
Good natured, peevish, gay, phantastic thing.

"As to your accusation of inhumanity for attacking the natural defects of my opponents, I grant it just, were there no other provocation, but these natural defects, joined to defects of the mind, serve to render people more ridiculous.

"As to your humble petition that I should suffer ye to track me, thank ye, good sirs; but the gate of my immured walks, to debar all approach to dunces, is eternally shut against such execrable copies as ye are; the utmost ye can aspire to is, by bribing the porter, to have a reverential peep at me thro' the key-hole.

"Being in a versifying humour this morning, I made the six following lines, with which I conclude this paper:—

"When Swift attacked the coxcombs of his time,
In hum'rous prose, or true satyric rhyme,
The titled dunce, town smart, and country loon
Cry'd rascal, madman, viper, and buffoon.
Oh! how they scowl'd, and rubb'd each frantic head!
But what did Swift? He laughed the puppies dead."

"The answer to 'The Tickler Tickled,' is this:—

"Hated by fools, and fools to hate:
Be that my motto, that my fate."

SWIFT.

“Learn from me, vile club of something less than wittings, the way to effectually attack opponents.

“First invalidate your adversary’s arguments, and then, if able, pour irony and ridicule like a torrent on him.”*

The production Hiffernan thus reviles is entitled :

“The Marrow of the Tickler’s Works, or Three Shillings worth of Wit for a Penny, in a Ballad.

“Printed in Dublin.”

No printer’s name, 16 pages in 12mo., appeared in 1748.

This publication, which is best designated by the word lampoon, is a very pretentious stupid performance, dedicated ironically “To the learned and celebrated Mr. Paul Hiffernan, M.D., author of the inimitable ‘Ticklers,’” &c., &c.

Notice of Dr. Paul Hiffernan.

In “The Biographica Dramatica” (Lon., 8vo., 1812, Vol. I., part 2, page 333) there is an extensive notice of the subject of this memoir, curious as relates to the account of his dramatic productions ; but though mainly taken from a far more ably written and reliable account of this eccentric man, in the “European Magazine,” wanting altogether in the moderation and philosophical tone in which the last named notice is written.

The following account is taken mainly from that extensive and apparently accurate notice of “Dr. Paul Hiffernan, an original and previously unpublished” sketch of that eccentric man’s career, in “The European Magazine,” Vol. XXV., for February, 1794, page 110, and March same year, page 179. From that notice, evidently written by a person who had an intimate knowledge of Hiffernan’s later literary career in London, the following particulars are taken :—

* Junius might have taken a lesson from “The Tickler,” or perhaps the authors of the letters of Junius and “The Tickler” may have studied in the same school of rhetorical writing.”—R. R. M.

“ Paul Hiffernan, born in the county Dublin, and at a proper age was removed from that county to a seminary in good repute, for the attention paid to classics, and where he was educated for the profession of a Roman Catholic Priest, he and his parents being of the Roman Catholic persuasion. From that school he was removed to a French College in the South of France, at which he was the fellow student of several persons subsequently eminent in literature, amongst whom were Rousseau and Marmontel. He remained at that college some years, abandoned the idea of becoming a priest, turned to the study of medicine, and took out a bachelor's degree of physic.

“ He then went to Paris, and only returned after a sojourn in France of seventeen years, to his own country, with the intention of practising his profession. Why he did not carry his resolution into effect was easily comprehensible to those who knew ‘his unconquerable love of indolence and dissipation.’

“ He was a good scholar, a young man of good manners, with a good deal of French ease and vivacity about him, of convivial habits, an agreeable companion, and at the period of his return to Dublin, about 1747—certainly not later than 1748 (the date of the publication of ‘The Tickler’)—when society in Dublin was more remarkable for its gaiety and joyousness than its sober pleasures, the company of young Dr. Hiffernan could not fail to be sought in various circles, social, literary, and political. At that period Dr. Lucas was becoming very formidable to the Castle and the Court party in the House of Commons, so Hiffernan, being considered a young man of good education and lively parts, was induced to undertake to write against Lucas, in a periodical which was called ‘The Tickler.’

“ Hiffernan's clever and caustic attacks on Lucas pro-

cured him, unfortunately, admission to the tables of persons of political celebrity, and not only of the latter, but those of all the leading aldermen who were the deadly enemies of Lucas. The company of a clever young champion of a court and a municipal party was too much sought, in poor Hiffernan's case, for his future well being. He acquired dissipated habits, which eventually led to dissolute ones, and to the utter wreck and ruin of reputation, resources, mind, and body. Lucas' party, though not powerful at the time of the publication of 'The Tickler,' were still not to be outraged with impunity, as they and their hero had been in the seven numbers of 'The Tickler' (all that were published). They made literary war on the author in 'The Anti-Tickler' and 'The Tickler Tickled.' But some years later, when that reaction set in in favour of Lucas, and his party became powerful, Hiffernan was either threatened with personal chastisement, or he imagined he was in danger of it, and he used to say of that period of his career 'his life was in some danger.' He fled from Dublin about 1753, and took up his abode in London 'to seek his fortune as an author,' as Gerald Griffin and John Banim, and hundreds of others of his countrymen have done with similar results, at various periods, in the century that has intervened between the days of Paul Hiffernan and our own."

The romantic idea of a young man of no fixed income, however small, of good education, of bookish habits, and literary tastes, abandoning his own country, friends, and connexion, with ten, twenty, forty, or fifty pounds in his pockets, going to London to seek his fortune, and expecting to gain a livelihood there by drudging for booksellers, contributing to magazines, or reporting for newspapers, generally ends in a discovery which makes men feel, when

they lie down at night, as if for them there were no prospects, hopes, or expectations in life; and when they rise in the morning, as if the busy, crowded world of London was for them a blank space to look out upon, and to them a dreary wilderness to stalk about in. I have lived in intimacy with countrymen of mine in London, young men of fine talents, of good education, solely depending on literary labour for a precarious subsistence, who have experienced the feelings and influences I have spoken of. Nay, more on this subject some experienced would enable me to say truly :

"Non ignara mali, miseris succurrere disco."

Charles Lamb, the imimitable quaint teller of solemn truths, in amusing terms, in a letter to Bernard Barton, the Quaker poet, in 1823, thus speaks of literature, as a calling to get a livelihood :—

"Throw yourself on the world without any rational plan of support, beyond what the chance employ of booksellers would afford you ?

"Throw yourself, rather, my dear sir, from the steep Tarpeian rock, slap dash, headlong, down upon iron spikes. I have known many authors want for bread, some repining, others enjoying the blessed security of a sponging house; all agreeing that they had rather have been tailors, weavers, what not, rather than the things they were. I have known some starved, some go mad, one dear friend literally dying in a workhouse. You know not what a rapacious set these booksellers are. O! you know not—may you never know—the miseries of subsisting by authorship. 'Tis a pretty appendage to situations like yours or mine, but a slavery—worse than all slavery—to be a bookseller's dependant; to drudge your brains for pots of ale and breasts of mutton; to change your free thoughts and voluntary numbers for ungracious task work. The booksellers hate us."

In 1754 and 1755, Hiffernan published a serial critical brochure, which extended to five numbers, entitled "The Tuner," in which production, with more humour than he ever afterwards exhibited in any other writings of his, he ridiculed the new plays of Boadicea, Constantine, Virginia, &c. His first employments from the London booksellers were in translations from the French and Latin authors. The booksellers found fault with his want of punctuating. The reputation he brought from Ireland by no means improved with length of residence in London. He wrote a great deal of occasional pieces of verse, humorous and satirical, for the diversion of his friends in London, as he had done in Montpellier, Paris, and Dublin. That kind of writing brought, however, no grist to the mill. In 1755 he published a volume of those occasional pieces, dedicated to Lord Tyrawley, which he entitled "Miscellanies in prose and verse, by Paul Hiffernan, M.D."

This volume consisted of Essays on Taste, on Ethics, The Character of Polonius, The Theory of Acting, Immoderate Drinking, The Virtues of Cock-fighting, The Life and Writings of Confucius, The Last Day, &c., with a number of poems on various ephemeral subjects.

In this *melange* of odd and whimsical subjects, we are told "there are some foreign anecdotes, remarks, and comments, which distinguish the scholar and man of observation. In his Character of Polonius, he successfully labours to rescue his character from the imputation of being a dotard, a fool, and a driveller, and supports the claim of the old statesman to wisdom and sagacity, both from his advice to his son and daughter, as well as from the following character which the king gives to Laertes, of his favourite inister:—

"The blood is not more native to the heart,
The hand more instrumental to the mouth,
Than to the throne of Denmark is thy father."

In his theory of acting, an ironical vindication of the conventional stage tricks of actors in dyings, swoonings, &c., he riots in extravagant absurdities.

He never wrote any play, poem, farce, or pamphlet that his friends were not laid under contribution. In fact he lived by these levies on private friends, and the number of the latter, and the high position of a great number of them, proved that this unfortunate author, with all his faults and follies, had not only companionable qualities, but literary merits of a higher order than either his biographers in "The Biographica Dramatica," or in "The European Magazine," give him credit for. If he had been so utterly worthless and of such mediocre abilities as they would give us to understand, it is not likely that to the very end of his erratic and unfortunate career he would have retained the friendship of Garrick, and the close and prolonged intimacy with Kelly, Bickerstaff, Foote, and Goldsmith.

Of all the eccentricities of this very eccentric man, one of the most remarkable was his concealment from every friend of his, no matter however intimate, of his place of abode, or more correctly, his place of lodging. Numerous and droll are the fruitless attempts that are recorded to discover this impenetrable secret. His invariable reply to every enquiry for his address was, "I am to be heard of at the Bedford coffee house." The mystery was only solved after his death.

One of his latest productions was a political treatise entitled, "The Origin of Despotism," which he prefixed to a translation he had made of a French work on the Elementary principles of Government, spiritual and temporal. After the preface, at least, of Hiffernan's was printed, the work (too theoretic to be dangerous to any government) was suppressed at the instance, it is presumed, of government.

His work on "Dramatic Genius," he dedicated to Garrick, "his friend and patron through life." In this production there was a remarkable proposition, perhaps more deserving of notice than any project that emanated from the tercentenary committee, with a view to do honour to the memory of Shakspeare. Hiffernan proposed that a monument, on a grand scale, and of enduring structure—a temple with appropriate decorations and inscriptions—should be erected in honour of the immortal English bard.

Poor Hiffernan's unfriendly biographer deals harshly with this last named production of his. He says: "There is in this, as well as in most of Hiffernan's writings, a mixture of science and absurdity. *He had not taste sufficient to set off his learning, and his familiar life was such as to shut out all improvement.*" In the last observation, which is here given in italics, there is some truth.

The writings I have seen of Hiffernan leave no doubt on my mind but that he possessed not a small, but a large, share of classical and general knowledge, a great deal of humour, and a keen sense of the ridiculous. The signal defects of his character and hindrances to the use and benefits of his talents were want of power of volition, of energy, of resolution, and of perseverance, want of tact, and of prudence, or in fewer words, want of religious principles, and of common sense.

The writer in the "European Magazine" says the amount of the subscriptions Hiffernan realized by his "Dramatic Genius" was from £120 to £150.

The next work of his, "The Philosophic Whim," ironically "dedicated to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge," an attempt, it appears, not very successful, to ridicule a modern philosophy and philosophers, described as "such a jumble of nonsense that there was no reading or

defining, and so miserably executed as to warrant a supposition that the man must be mad or drunk who wrote it."

In 1775 he published a tragedy, "The Heroine of the Cave," which was performed at Drury Lane with some success. The piece, however, was only an altered and extended drama of Henry Jones, another eccentric literary man, not long deceased, with a change of title, namely, "The Heroine of the Cave," for "The Cave of Idra."

His next project to extract money from the pockets of his friends and patrons was a course of lectures on anatomy, delivered at the Percy Coffee House, the auditors amounting to half-a-dozen persons.

This was one of the last miserable shifts of Dr. Paul Hiffernan to procure the means of prolonging a miserable life. His ways and means for several years previously for raising the supplies consisted in drudgery for booksellers, borrowing from friends, and obtaining subscriptions for pamphlets and ephemeral productions in every stage of being conceived, commenced, concluding, or completed.

"Hiffernan was in his person a short, thick set man, of a ruddy complexion, black, observing eyes, nose somewhat aquiline, and though his features were not formed with much symmetry, altogether he might be considered an intelligent and good-looking man. He has himself humourously described his outward and inward man in the verses, entitled "The author on himself." In these he compares himself to the great Roman Bard.

Who, like friend Horace, grey before his time,
Seeks fame in loose pro'd prose and fettered rhyme,
Whose highest wish—a mere absurdity—
Nothing to do, and highly learn'd to be.

* * *

By day to write, by night in fancy stray;
So, like true poets, dream my life away."

The preceding details present a sad picture of a driftless, aimless, worthless, hopeless existence.

He lived, how and where no man knew, except for some hours during the night, when he was regularly to be found in "his place," in the cyder cellar, in Maiden Lane, which, upwards of forty-five years ago, was pointed out to me in that once celebrated rendezvous of literary, theatrical, legal, and medical young men, and gentlemen of the Fourth Estate, in 1820, and that several years afterwards was in existence.

It is said Hiffernan was not addicted to intemperance: "he only occasionally in society sacrificed too freely to Bacchus." He was far from being brutal in his manners or deportment. "He could deport himself in good company with every becoming decorum, and enliven conversation with anecdote and observation, which rendered him at times a very agreeable companion."

But when the doctor was drunk, we are informed, "he could be very coarse and vulgar, sparing no epithets of abuse, and indulging himself in all the extravagances of passion."

His habitual state, with respect to funds, was one of *impecuniosity*. Struggling to live, and obtaining the scantiest means even of so doing, except in a few rare instances of getting a tolerably large sum from a bookseller, for some productions, by begging loans and importuning friends for subscriptions, he dragged out life.

He terminated his miserable career, after a short illness, in June, 1777, at his lodgings in one of the little courts of St. Martin's Lane, and it was only after his death that the fact was made known by his landlord to one of the most constant and generous of his friends, to whom applications for loans, never unsuccessful, had been made frequently during his illness.

There are more detailed particulars of his early years to be found in "The Biographica Dramatica," compiled by Baker, Read, and Jones, Lon., 8vo., 1812.

In this account we are told Paul Hiffernan was born in Dublin in the year 1719. He received part of his education in a classical seminary in that city, and finished it in a college in the south of France. Having determined on adopting the medical profession he duly attended lectures and hospital practice in Montpellier, took out the degree of Bachelor of Physic, and proceeded to Paris; there he lived (but how employed, or provided with means, we are not informed) several years, and at the expiration of seventeen years from the time of his departure from Dublin, returned to that city with the intention of setting up in practice. Either that project failed, or he did not give it a fair trial. He commenced writing for newspapers and periodicals for a subsistence, and undertook to write and edit a political periodical, called "The Tickler," set up in opposition to the famous Lucas. By his writings in this satirical production he obtained a good deal of celebrity, and eventually so much obloquy that he found Dublin too hot to hold him. So he abandoned his native land and settled in London, where he was employed by the booksellers in various works of translation, compilement, &c., &c., &c. But his eccentricities and irregularities were such, that, we are told, he was perpetually disgracing the profession of literature, which he was doomed to follow for bread. His conversation, it is said, in convivial society was offensive to decency and good manners, and his whole behaviour discovered a mind over which the opinion of mankind had no control.

After an irregular and shameful life, oppressed by poverty and in the latter part of it by disease, he ended a miserable life about the beginning of June, 1777. His dramatic works are:—

- 1.—“The Lady’s Choice” (petite piece), 8vo. 1759.
- 2.—“The Wishes of a Free People,” a dramatic poem, 8vo. 1761.
- 3.—“The New Hippocrates,” a farce; not printed. 1761.
- 4.—“The Earl of Warwick,” a tragedy, 8vo. 1764.
- 5.—“National Prejudice,” a comedy; not printed. 1768.
- 6.—“The Philosophic Whim, or Astronomy a Farce,” a farce, 4to. 1774.
- 7.—“The Heroine of the Cave.”*

In the “Public Monitor, or new Freeman’s Journal,” for February 2, 1773, is an extensive and curious account of an eccentric person of some notoriety in his day.

“B. Clarke, the schoolmaster of Mary’s Abbey,” who was one of the earliest scribes of the old “Freeman’s Journal.” He is described as a “fat, low sized man,” who was somewhat notorious for “his gold laced hat and scarlet faced waistcoat.” “B. Clarke,” we are told, “had extraordinary vicissitudes in life. He had been exceedingly ill-used by certain great men (the proprietors and managers of ‘The Old Freeman’s Journal’). In the year 1749 he settled in Dame Street, had an excellent school, and distinguished himself as an advocate of the late Dr. Charles Lucas. He wrote a weekly paper called, ‘The Curry Comb,’ in answer to Dr. Hiffernan’s ‘Ticklers,’ against Lucas. He also wrote ‘The Looking Glass,’ in reply to ‘The Mirror.’ In 1751, he wrote ‘An answer to the Pope’s Bull against Freemasonry,’ and dedicated it to Lord George Sackville, by order of the Grand Lodge of Freemasonry of Ireland.”

Of the several literary assailants of Lucas, in 1748-9, one was an opponent of a very different order from that of Dr. Paul Hiffernan.

* “Biographia Dramatica,” Vol. I., part 1, page 333.

In the lists of the productions of Edmund Burke, which are to be found in some of the biographies of that great man, some anonymous publications of the period of his college life, and others of a later date, are to be sought in vain.

But there is one of the productions of Burke in particular, the earliest of all his publications, to which attention may be directed with advantage—a pamphlet, written by Burke, while he was in college, in 1749, against Lucas, it is said a very able pamphlet, sarcastic and indicative of political sentiments, that were anti-Irish, anti-nationalist, anti-popular, and in all probability very ungenerous, if not unjust.

It is remarkable to find two of the earliest specimens of Burke's abilities as a writer were given to the public at the period referred to of his college career. One in the pamphlet against Charles Lucas, whom he ridiculed as an impostor, pretending to be a patriot; and designates Aristides, though unquestionably a strenuous assertor, a sincere and bold vindicator, of his country's rights. The other following in letters, published also in 1749, against the ablest of all the liberal writers in the independent newspaper press of the time, Henry Brook, to whom, in mockery, it is charitably said, of the fluency of his style (occasionally rather too diffuse) is given the name of Diabetes. In both specimens there are indications of sarcastic severity, approaching to savagery which one would hardly expect to meet with in writings of Burke's, at any period of his career. Personal defects and deformities, natural or accidental, were made subjects of attack in those early productions of Burke, themes for ridicule and ribald jests.

"Burke's first efforts as a politician," says Mr. Prior, "on the highest college authority, were made in 1749,

previous to his quitting the university, in some letters against Mr. Henry Brooke, the celebrated author of the tragedy of 'Gustavus Vasa,' the 'Fool of Quality,' and other popular works, who then stood high in estimation with the patriots, in consequence of the representation of his tragedy having been interdicted by government for the alleged boldness of its sentiments."

"Another subject (continues Prior) for the exertion of his sarcastic wit about the same period, was Dr. Charles Lucas, a celebrated character of the Irish metropolis, who from apothecary, and then physician, became a patriot; thence, by the folly of those in power, sanctioned by a vote of the Irish parliament, elevated into a popular idol and a martyr in consequence of being outlawed by that vote."

"At the period in question, the persecution of the castle, as the seal of government is there termed, had sharpened his zeal into some degree of intemperance in his conduct and writings, when Mr. Burke assailed him sarcastically as Epaminondas; and by pushing his political doctrines to their ultimate results, as he afterwards did a different set of opinions by Lord Bolingbroke, aimed at throwing over them an air of absurdity. What were the effects of Mr. Burke's pen in these early political exercises, cannot now with certainty be known; but judging from his private letters, written about this time, their vigour was not much inferior to that of any future period of his life."*

In that compendious biography of Burke, by his namesake, entitled, "The Public and Domestic Life of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke," at page 10, we are informed—"While at college, Burke was a member of that excellent institution of juvenile debate for the use of the students of Trinity, called the Historical Society, which was the arena

* Prior's Life of Burke. 5th Ed., vol. 1, p. 33.

not only of his incipient oratory, but of that of many others among the greatest men Ireland has produced. Burke's varied studies had made him an adept in rhetoric and composition, as well as in logic, physics, history, and moral philosophy; and before he left college an opportunity occurred for the display of his proficiency. The occasion also afforded an early and remarkable instance of that aristocratic inclination of his mind, which, whatever might be afterwards thought or said of him, never at any time forsook him. The circumstance was this:—In the year 1749, one Dr. Charles Lucas, a demagogue apothecary, wrote a number of daring papers against government, and acquired a great popularity in Dublin, as Wilkes afterwards did in London. Burke, versed in scholastic logic, and full of other knowledge suited to his purpose, perceived the noxious and insidious tendency of the doctor's extreme leveling doctrines, and adopted a novel and clever mode of counteracting them. He wrote several essays in the style of Lucas, imitating it so completely as to deceive the public, pursuing Lucas's principles to consequences obviously resulting from them, and at the same time shewing their absurdity and danger. Thus the first literary effort of his mind was an exposure of the absurdity of violent harangues about wild democratic innovations."

If Mr. Peter Burke had spared himself the trouble of inflicting on his readers his opinions respecting the wild democratic innovation tendencies of Lucas's harangues, and devoted a little time and research to the discovery and description of the pamphlet against Lucas, written and published by Burke, in 1749, at the age of one and twenty, he would have rendered a service to literature. The same observation applies to Mr. Prior's reference to the same nondescript and un-named pamphlet of Burke.

With respect to Burke's age at the time of those productions of his against Lucas and Brooke, certainly the two foremost patriotic characters of their day, a few words remain to be said.

Prior, in his "Life of Burke," states that he was born the 1st of January, 1730, old style; Peter Bourke says he was born the 1st of January, 1730; or according to others, 1728. The latter date is probably the true one. The fact is the registry of baptism of Edmund Burke has been sought for in vain by his biographers. The registry of his admission to the college of Dublin is dated the 14th of April, 1743, and it states him to have been then in his sixteenth year,* which would place his birth as 1728. On the monumental tablet to his memory, in Beaconfield church, the date is recorded of his death, July 9th, 1797, and of his age—68 years; but the latter date is in all probability erroneous, and should have been 69 years.

We are told by the editors of "Burke's Correspondence" (Rivington, London, 1841, in 4 vols., 8vo.), Earl Fitz-William and Sir Richard Bourke, K.C.B., that "The Philosophical Inquiry," it is well known, was composed by Burke, in his 19th year.† That work, however, was not published till 1756.

On the same authority, it is stated that Edmund Burke, who was born, most probably, 1st of January, 1728, "while yet a student of Trinity College, Dublin, entered his name at the Middle Temple, in April, 1746; but appears not to have gone to London to keep law terms, till 1750.

"The work of his to which Burke alludes (in a letter from London, to Richard Shackleton, dated August 10th, 1757), is his 'Philosophical Inquiry into the Origin of our

* "Burke's Correspondence," vol. 1, page 2.

† "Correspondence," Vol. I., p. 88.

Ideas of the Sublime and Beautiful,' first published in 1756. His Vindication of Natural Society appeared (previously) in the same year. From the fact which he mentions here of the work having lain by him for some time, he evidently refers to 'The Philosophical Inquiry,' which it is well-known he composed in his 19th year."*

Of the several biographies of Burke, the least information relating to the early career of Burke is in the work of Mr. Prior. It is indeed greatly to be regretted that no researches deserving of the name of active efforts, for the acquisition and discovery of such information pursued in Ireland, by some person of industrious literary habits, of intelligence and quickness of apprehension, have been made.

Of the anonymous pamphlet written by Burke, while he was a student in Trinity College, Dublin, against Lucas, one of his biographers tells us it was published in 1749, and another that it was written in a strain of sarcastic irony, and that Lucas was designated in it, Aristides. That is all we are told of it. I have long sought for it, and perhaps not in vain.

One of the smartest of the pamphlets put forth in the heat of the Lucas paper war, in the year 1749, was "A letter from Patrick Taylor, of Bally James Duff, to his cousin Jemmy in Dublin, upon a late paper war in Dublin," published by Esdall, Corke Hill, Dublin, 1749, pages 16.

Burke certainly was not the author of that pamphlet. Reference is made in it, however, at page 13 to an anti-Lucas pamphlet, lately published, entitled "Lucas Detected," wherein Lucas is referred to as making some declaration of patriotism to a brother patriot, which reminds the writer of "the famed priest of old smiling at his brother augur;"

* "Correspondence of E. Burke," Vol. I., p. 83.

therefore the writer is supposed to be a scholar and conversant with the classics.

The writer of the Bally James Duff pamphlet further observes that the writer of "Lucas Detected" introduces Lucas as Aristides, and again likens him to one of the old turbulent beggarly tribunes of Rome. *Ergo*, the writer is supposed to be an historical student.

No doubt the author of "Lucas Detected" was well versed in historical literature. But the writer of the pamphlet under the signature of Patrick Taylor, who refers to the classical passages in "Lucas Detected," as indicative of its being written by "An Historical Student," makes no mention of Burke's name, though he knew, probably, Edmund Burke to be the writer of it. That very rare pamphlet, entitled "Lucas Detected," printed for Peter Wilson, Dublin, 1749, is in my possession.

From that pamphlet I now cite *in extenso* the passages which lead me to the conclusion that it was written by Edmund Burke:—

"The hesitating manner in which he (Lucas) begs the question at the setting out of his first letter, is to me a shrewd hint that he begins to be afraid his pretensions to true patriotism are truly discovered to be vain and artificial.

"For my part, methinks I see him smile on his brother patriots when they meet, as the famed priest of old did on his brother augurs, whenever they had successfully imposed on the credulous, abused people, by their deceitful auguries and ambiguous oracles.

"True patriotism is a flower of a most tender and delicate nature. The fine soil it delights to be placed in, the care and diligence required in the management and cultivation of it, to bring it to maturity, gives me great room to fear we must expect but a very few slips of it to adorn even

our finest gardens in this remote, frigid region ; yet pretended patriotism bears so near a resemblance to the true that, without the greatest care and circumspection, without a very strict examination, numbers of conceited, forward impostors will most impudently assure you their grounds abound with it, and attempt to impose their weeds upon you, in the place of sweetest flowers."

"If I were to follow this incendiary through all his cob-web covered artifices, vile sophistry, and daring abuse, not only of the commons in his fourth libel, but of the best and worthiest men of the nation that he falls foul of in his other scurrilous writings, it would take up much more of my time than I have leisure to bestow on him . . ."

"That his (Lucas's) pretences to virtue, truth, liberty and disinterestedness may be all hypocrisy, is a theorem that I believe would not require the sagacity of an Archimedes, or a Sir Isaac Newton to demonstrate. His known behaviour in the militia and common council breathe so much the air of mutiny, sedition, and licentiousness, that I judge him from his fruits, not from his professions . . .'

"What a pity it is that by the indulgence of our laws this fellow, by his artful ambiguities, or, as he himself somewhere expresses it, has caution enough to keep his neck out of the reach of the law, should escape with impunity after his grossly and indiscriminately villifying some of the worthiest of our citizens, &c."

"It may be, men may not always be in a mood to pursue the Christian precept of doing good to those who despitely use them. Let him take care : if he pursues this course he may meet some person as mad as himself, who may make him a sad and mutilated example to all slanderers and detractors."

This ends the account I had to give of the nondescript class of periodicals, neither political newspaper nor literary miscellanies, published in Ireland from the beginning of the 18th to the middle of the same century.

But in 1744 a periodical made its appearance in Dublin, elsewhere to be described, but here only to be noticed, as the first genuine magazine and earliest literary miscellany published in Ireland, namely :—

“A Literary Journal.

“Published and edited by the Rev. Peter Droz, and printed by S. Powell, Dame Street, Dublin. 1744—1749.

END OF VOL. I.



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